What Is Zionism?; : Two Chapters From "zionism and the Jewish Future"

Chaim Weizmann

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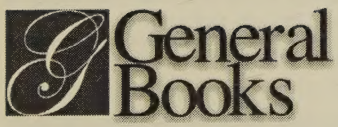

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Two Chapters from "ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH FUTURE"

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WHAT IS ZIONISM?

I. ZIONISM AND THE FUTURE PROBLEM.

HAT is called the "Jewish problem" presents itself under different aspects in different countries, but when we get beneath temporary and accidental features, the problem is seen to be essentially that of fitting into the modern world a national group which has survived from ancient times without the ordinary attributes of nationhood. This is equally true whether the problem be regarded from within or from without, from the point of view of the Jew or from that of the world. The modern world sets the Jew the problem of maintaining some sort of distinctive existence without the external props of territorial sovereignty and a political machine, and the Jew sets the modern world the problem of finding for him a place in its social structure which shall enable him to live as a human being without demanding that he cease to be a Jew. In both cases what gives the problem its peculiar character is the fact that the Jews, regarded simply as

Jews, as members of the national group to which Palestine belonged 2,000 years ago, no longer possess that national unity which is expressed in and secured by possession of a homeland, a common language, and common institutions.

The persistence of the Jewish people through 2,000 years of dispersion is due to its capacity for organizing a group-life of its own, under whatever external conditions, on the basis of a spiritual idea the idea of the eternity of Israel as bound up with the eternity and universality of the God of Israel. This idea, carrying with it as a corollary the belief in a future restoration of the people to its homeland, has been at the root of the Jewish attitude to life, and has supplied in the Jewish struggle for existence the place of the more concrete expressions of nationality. The people of Israel, the God of Israel, the land of Israelthese are the indestructible kernel around which has grown an outer shell of belief, tradition, religious observance, and social custom. So in Babylon, in Spain, in North Africa, in France and Germany, and later in Poland, large groups of Jews were able to create and carry on a distinctive life of their own, borrowing always from their surroundingsparticularly in the matter of languagebut remaining always completely conscious of a separate identity. The history of the Jewish people in exile is the history of the growth and decay of these successive centres of Jewish national life, orif we may coin a term to indicate the absence of complete nationhood sub-national life.

By far the most important of these centres in modern times has been the one which arose in

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Poland alter the great migrations of the Jews from Germany in the Middle Ages. In Poland there grew up a vast Jewish community, homogeneous m its character and type of life, and differing in fundamentals from the surrounding non-Jewish communities. It had its own languagejudeo-German or Yiddish, a modification of the Middle High German which the first Jewish immigrants brought with them into Polandits own system of education based on the Bible and the Talmud, its own communal organization, its own mentalitv and standard of values. This homogeneous Jewish group survived the partition of Poland, which split it up politically; nay, it extended into Russia and Roumania, and to a less extent into Germany and France. It was from this group, as from a great reservoir, that Jews streamed out in ever-increasing numbers during the nineteenth century into the countries of the West, there to enjoy the political freedom and economic opportunities which were persistently denied to the parent group. With relatively few exceptions, there is not a Jew to-day in Western Europe or America whose ancestors, immediate or somewhat remote, were not born and bred in one of the thousands of Jewish communities which in their totality make up the homogeneous, Yiddish-speaking sub-national group of Jews in Eastern Europe. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that East European Jewry has been for some centuries the real centre of Jewish life, and that its disruption, not accompanied by the establishment of another centre, would threaten the very existence of the Jews as a people.

It is one of the ironies of Jewish history that this vitally important centre of Jewry has carried on its life, especially during the last century, under material conditions as sorry and unenviable as could be imagined. Its solidarity, its faithfulness to its own

traditions and way of life, its supreme value as a home of Jewish learning and Jewish idealism, have been maintained at a well-nigh incredible price. Turn where we will in Eastern Europe, the masses of Jews are degraded, either politically or economically, or in both respects, to a lower level than that of any proletariat in Europe. Exposed now to the harshest Governmental oppression, now to the hatred of an ignorant populace, cut off from the soil, denied access to trades and professions in which their abilities could have free scopethe Jews have obviously no material inducement to remain true to their own tradition. That the homogeneous Jewish group has persisted under such conditions is little short of wonderful. It is to be explained only by a quite exceptionally strong national instinct.

But persecution and economic misery have done much. Jews have been driven in increasing numbers to emigration, physical or spiritual. Vast numbers have sought refuge and betterment in Western Europe and America; many have given up the struggle and accepted baptism as a means of escape. And side bv side with these disintegrating forces another force has been at work, more subtle, but not less sure. The maintenance of the traditional way of life has involved a certain hostility to modern culture and ideas; but these cannot be kept out indefinitely, and in so far as they penetrate into the Ghettos, they act as a powerful' solvent of established Jewish belief and custom, for which they substitute nothing that is distinctively Jewish, but only (at best) a broad universalisiii which means in practice the adoption of the national culture nearest to hand. Half a century ago some of the more far-sighted Russian Jews began to realise the danger of disintegration through the adoption of foreign ideas and customs, and to urge the only possible remedythe establishment of a new centre of Jewry in the old Jewish homeland under free conditions, in which Jewish life, rooted in its own soil, could develop on modern lines without losing its essential individuality.

What further havoc these disintegrating forces might have wrought in the homogeneous Jewry of Eastern Europe during the next generation or two no man will ever know: for now the great war has come to precipitate their work. It is too early as yet to estimate even approximately the effect of the war on the great Jewish centres in which a part of it is being waged, but it is already obvious that it will deal a shattering blow at what has been for centuries the great reservoir of Jewish strength. Thus the war brings the Jewish problem into tragic relief. It is not merely that hundreds of thousands of Jews have been turned into homeless wanderers, exposed to the ravages of famme and disease, with but the slenderest prospect of ever recovering such economic stability as they had before. That IS the external aspect of the Jewish contribution to the tale of war-suffering, and it is sufficiently appalling to arrest attention even at a time when horror stalks the world. But the inner side of the tragedy, of even more awful significance for the Jewish people, is the destruction of the homes of Jewish life and learning, the break-up of the social organism which, despite its lack of freedom and of material and political strength, has embodied most fully in the modern world what is vital and enduring in the character and ideals of the Jewish people. The havoc brought by the war to the Jews of Poland has been compared to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and the comparison is by no means fanciful. For the fearful blow strikes beyond the individuals at the very heart of the nation.

Superficially, indeed, it might seem that the importance to Jewry at large of the Jewish settlements in the Eastern theatre of war is here exaggerated. Granted, it may be said, that the sufferings of Polish Jewry are enormous, granted even that the ruin is irreparable, and that the Jewish people has indeed lost for ever one of its prime sources of strength, there yet remain the Jewries of the Western World, which command much greater material resources, and have infinitely wider. possibilities of political action, than the Russian and Polish Jews ever had or might expect to have. Is it not, in fact, it may be asked, a great source of strength to the

Jewish people that it has not " all its eggs in one basket," so that the persistence of the people as a whole does not depend on the fortunes of a single group, however large and important?

The question is natural enough; but in fact the conditions under which the Jews live in the Western World make it impossible for their communities to render to Jewry at large the particular service which has been performed hitherto by the Jewish settlement in Eastern Europe, despite their marked superiority in political freedom, in economic stability, in adjustment to the demands of modern culture. For one effect of political and social emancipation on the Jews of the West has been to break up their solidarity. They have gained the right to participate in the lives of modern nations, not as a national or sub-national group, but as individuals.

True, the different Jewish communities are still grouped around their synagogues and other institutions, chiefly of a philanthropic character. " Judaism," conceived as a religious system, takes the place of the sense of attachment to the Jewish people and its traditions and ideals. But from the point of view of Jewish solidarity the substitute is woefully inadequate, and its inadequacy becomes more glaring from generation to generation. On the other hand, the culture and aspirations of the State in which he lives play an ever-growing part in the inner life of the individual Jew, and restrict more and more the sphere of activities in which his Jewishness expresses itself;

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and, on the other hand, the conception of what it means to be a Jew becomes more and more vague and uncertain for lack of a concrete embodiment of Jewish life which could serve as a guiding norm. Hence the natural progress of the emancipated Jew is through assimilation to absorption in his environment.

This process would proceed to its logical end even more rapidly were it not checked by anti-Semitism. For the efforts of the emancipated Jew to assimilate himself to his surroundings, quite honestly meant and largely successful though they are, deceive nobody but himself. The record of the emancipated Jew in loyalty to his country, in devotion to its ideals and service to its interests, is unimpeachable. None the less, he is felt by the outside world to be still something different, still an alien, and the measure of his success and prominence in the various walks of life which are thrown open to him is, broadly speaking, the measure of the dislike and distrust which he earns.

As unfair controversial use has been made of this passage hy a well-known anonymous opponent of Zionism, it seems desirable to point outwhat must be obvious to everv fair-minded readerthat what is meant is simplv that, however like his neighbour the assimilated Jew becomes, the non-Jew remains conscious of the fact that there is a real difference between the Jew and himself, which is not merely, i difference of

" confession." Any student of the Jewish problem knows that this consciousness of difference exists, and that it is liable to take the form of anti-Semitism under certain conditions. It is idle to base generalisations about the position of the assimilated Jew on experience in England, where conditions are doublv favourable to the Jews, both because the English are exceptionally tolerant, and because the Jews are still a very small fraction of the population; but even in England it would be absurd to deny that the Jew is not " recognised " as smh, hdwever genuine and however

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Thus the phenomena of assimilation and of anti-Semitism go on side by side, and the position of the emancipated Jew, though he does not realize it himself, is even more tragic than that of his oppressed brother.

It is clear, then, that no set-off against the destruction of a great Jewish centre in the East of Europe can be found in the existence of materially prosperous communities of Jews in the West. The truth is that the facts of the Jewish position in East and West alike, properly regarded, point to the same fatal source of weakness in the Jewish struggle for existencethe lack of a stable home, in which the Jewish people could live and develop on the lines of its own national characteristics and ideals. Neither the herding of large masses of Jews in Ghettos nor the recognition of the right of individual Jews to live as free human beings outside the Ghetto can compensate the Jewish people for the lack of such a home. This truth, which the history of Jewry in the nineteenth century had made evident enough, is thrown into still sharper relief by the events of the great war.

It is this central problemthe homelessness of the Jewish peoplethat Zionism attacks. Its distinctive feature is that it sees the problem as a successful his efforts may be to adapt himself to the surroundings. The Jewish individuality can be suppressed " only very slowly. and the process of ' disappearing ' requires a few generations to be complete."

By this is meant homelessness of the Jews as a nation. Individual Jews or groups of Jews have their political homes, but the people have not. This home can only be established in Palestine for those who will Uve there.

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national one, not as the problem of this or that group of individual Jews; and it aims at removmg the conditions which make the problem so acute, not at administering a palliative here and there. For so long as the conditions remain, the problem must always recur. So long as the Jewish people remains without a home, it must always be faced with the same terrible alternativeeither a cramped, stunted, and precarious life in the Ghetto, or gradual decay and disruption under emancipation. But to find a home for the Jewish people does not mean to congregate all Jews together in one place.

That is obviously impossible, even if it were desirable. The millions of Jews in Eastern Europe could not be transplanted by the wave of a wand to a Jewish land, and any gradual emigration must be more or less counterbalanced by the natural growth of population. The political and economic problems of the Jews in Eastern Europe must be settled, for the great mass of them, in the countries where they live. Emancipated Jews, again, are for the most part unwilling to leave the countries of their adoption.

Materially speaking, they are sufficiently well off where they are. and it will only be a minority in whom the Jewish consciousness will be sufficiently strong to draw them back again to their own- people. But, taking East and West together, there is a sufficiently large number of Jews who would be eager, given the opportunity, to help in laying the foundations of a new Jewish life in a Jewish land.

The task of Zionism is to create that oppor- tunity. As to the land that is to be the Jewish land there can be no question. Palestine alone, of all the countries in which the Jew has set foot throughout his long history, has an abiding place in his national tradition. It was in Palestine that the Jews lived as a nation, and produced the highest fruits of their genius. The memory and the hope of Palestine have been bound up with the national consciousness of the, Jewish people through all the centuries of exile, ancf have been among flfe most powerful forces making for the preservation-of Jewry and Judaism. 'Tlfe' task of Zioniipi, Rfen, is to create a home for the Jevwshjpeople in Palestine, to make it possible. W large numbers of Jews to settle there and live u'nder conditions in which they can produce a type of life corresponding to the character and ideals of the Jewish people.

Whcn the aim of Zionism is accomplished, Palestine will be the home of the Jewish people, not because it will contain all the Jews' in the world, but because it will be the only place in the world where the Jews are masters of their own destiny, and the national centre to which all Jews will look as the home and the source of all that is most essentially Jewish. Palestine will be the country in which Jews are to be found, just as Ireland is the country in which Irishmen are to be found, though there are more Irishmen outside of Ireland than in it. And similarly Palestine will be the home of Judaism, not because there will be no Judaism anywhere else, but because in Palestine the Jewish spirit will have free play, and there the Jewish mind

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and character will express themselves as they can nowhere else.

Summing up the results of what Zionism has already done towards the accomplishment of this aim, we may say that under the influence of the movement, direct or indirect, there have grown up m Palestme the begmnmgs of a new Jewish life small beginnings as yet, but full of promise for the future. In Palestine to-day there are Jews settled on the soil and in the towns whose national consciousness is Jewish and whose language is Hebrew. The ideal of the return to the land of Palestine, as the home of the Jewish people, has begun to take concrete shape. And concurrently with this development, and partly as a result of it, there has gradually come about a change in the outlook of Jewsa change which can be more easily felt by those who are in touch with Jewish affairs than it can be measured by facts and figures. This change is illustrated nost concretely by the growth of the Zionist organisation itself, with its 200,000 adherents in all parts of the world, its biennial representative Congresses, its network of financial institutions, its Press in many languages, and its incessant and extensive propaganda by the written and the spoken word. And outside the Zionist organisation the national idea has begun to affect spheres of Jewish life in which a generation ago the drift towards assimilation was the only visible movement, and its influence will grow with the growth of its concrete embodiment in Palestine.

With the development of this embryo settle-

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ment into a fully-fledged and self-conscious national group, the Jewish problem will enter on a new phase. It is not pretended that the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people will immediately end all the ills to which Jewry is heir, or will solve as if by magic all the problems of adjustment ' that the existence of the Jewish people creates both for Jews and for the world. A man who is rescued from the quicksands may still have a hard struggle for existence; but at least he is on solid ground, and can use whatever of strength and wit he is endowed with. So it will be with the Jewish people. Restored once more to firm ground, it will be able to fight its battles for life and growth, instead of spending its energies in the ineffectual clutchings and gaspings of a drowning man. History justifies the faith of every conscious Jew that the striving of his people after full self-expression will be fraught with advantage to humanity in its progress towards higher and higher reaches of culture and civilisation. The Jewish nation has stood from time memorial for the loftiest of spiritual ideals; its life through two thousand years of exile has been one long tribute to the supremacy of the things of the spirit; the record of the Zionist movement itself is proof of the power of an ideal to stir the Jewish people to-day to new life and heroic effort. Nor should it be necessary to urge the importance of the contribution that might be made to the solution of the age-long problem of East and West by a vigorous and progressive Jewish nation in Palestine, which is marked out by its geographical position to be a highway of commerce and of culture no less than the Jewish people is fitted by its history to be a mediator between the East, m which it has its roots, and the West, in which it has been tried and schooled for centuries.

In the settlement which will follow the war the Jewish question will demand the attention of those whose task it will be to build a new order on the ruins of the old. Jews will ask, as they have asked before, for equal treatment in countries where hitherto they have been denied the rights of men and citizensand this time perhaps not in vain. But even more urgent than the claim of the individual Jew to human rights will be the claim of the Jewish people to that equality of opportunity which it can achieve only by becoming once more master of its own destinies. The principle of equality of opportunity, long recognized by progressive states in their internal economy, is of no less vital importance for nations than for individuals. The Jewish people will claim the benefit of that principle. It will support its claim by no armed force, for, though Jews shed their blood for every belligerent country, there is no Jewish army. Its appeal will be based on right and justice alone. If right and justice are to be the foundations of the new order the appeal will not be unheard.

Chaim Weizmann.

THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM.

IIISTORIC movements of importance cannot be fixed within definite limits of time. Zionism, as the practical embodiment of an ideal, dates from 1896, but the ideal itself, that of Jewish nationalism, is as old as the Dispersion. The doctrine of the return to Palestine has always been part and parcel of the belief of the Jew, expressed m countless sayings, prayers and poems. It is true that, as this return was looked upon, not as a simple historic event, but as part of the Divine scheme of governance, any attempt to further that consummation by human beings would have appeared to be

blasphemy. However, with the advent of a more tangible view of cosmic development this belief was bound to take on a more human and terrestrial form.

The situation of the Jews in 1896 was neither satisfactory in itself nor promising in the hope that it held out for the future. With the disappearance of physical and constitutional ghettos, the Western Jews felt that they had at last come into their heritage. In order to be at harmony with the

"modern spirit," they had made an effort to save the Jewish religion at the expense of nationality and race, not realizing that these last two constitute its bulwarks. The violent changes which were consequently made in the ritual caused the Jew to be a stranger among his brethren in many countries, and the remodelling of the Jewish perspective removed the wide outlook of the old Hebrew prophets, and made Judea and the return of the Jews to some form of a reconstructed common existence the ideal of those who wished to preserve the national tradition.

The forced exodus of large numbers of Jews from Eastern Europe had a deep and far-reaching effect upon the Jews of Western Europe and America. The active work of making proper provision for these victims of a relentless persecution resulted in establishing a close bond of sympathy between two portions of a people that had been estranged for so long a time. These emigrants from Russia carried with them into their new homes an ideal that had been fostered by some of their most cherished leaders and popular writersthe ideal that had been called Jewish Nationalism.

Perez Smolenskin had been the first to proclaim in Russia a view of Jewish Nationalism that was civic and social, not religious. The very title of his chief work, "Am 01am" (An Eternal People), written in 1873, gives us the keynote of his endeavour; an eternal people must keep an " eternal ideal " constantly in view. That ideal he finds expressed in the one word " Zion." Since the destruction of the

Temple it has represented the hopes of the Jewish people. It stands for the peculiar culture for which the Jews have striven; it connotes the Hebrew language, the use of which must be cultivated anew as the expression of that ideal; and later in life it betokened to him the physical goal for which the Jews must strive in order to attempt the realization of the ideal.

The idea that the restitution of Palestine to the Jews might become a matter of general European interest was not without its advocates eveii during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1799 Napoleon had inserted a proclamation in the Moniteau-Universel inviting the Jews of Asia and Africa to gather under his leadership in order to re-establish ancient Jerusalem. A French Jew, Joseph Salvador, publicly advocated the calling of a European Congress for the purpose of reinstating his people in their old home, an idea that is supposed to have fired the mind of Disraeli, who, in " Alroy," speaks the language of the most modern of Zionists in the words he puts into the mouth of the High Priest: " You ask me what I wish; my answer is, the Land of Promise. You ask me what I wish; my answer is, Jerusalem. You ask me what I wish; my answer is, the Temple, all we have forfeited, all we have yearned after, all for which we have foughtour beauteous country, our holy creed, our simple manners, and our ancient customs."

An Englishman, Hollingsworth by name, published in 1852 a pamphlet wherein he advocated the establishment of a Jewish State, urging it as a matter of much moment

to Great Britain for the purpose of safeguarding the overland route to India. Ten years later, Moses Hess, one of the early German Socialist leaders and a propagator of Proudhon's anarchistic ideas, in his great work, "Rome and Jerusalemthe Latest National Question," not only laid down the historic and economic bases of that which was not yet called Zionism, but also developed a complete plan for the colonization and regeneration of the Holy Land.

No Christian, and perhaps no Jewish writer, has struck the high ncte of pathos and enthusiasm of George Eliot in her novel " Daniel Deronda " (1876). Into the mouth of one of her heroes she places words that show how deeply she had penetrated into the Jewish soul: " There is a store of wisdom among us to found a new Jewish polity. Grand, simple, just like the olda republic where there is equality of protection. Then our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and a brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of nations as the outraged Englishman or American, and the world will gain as Israel gains. Let the torch of visible community be lit. Let the reason of Israel disclose itself in a great outward deed; let there be another great migration, another chosen of Israel, to be a nationality whose members may still stretch to the ends of the earth, even as the sons of England and Germany, whom enter- prise carries afar, but who still have a national hearth and a tribunal of national opinion. Let us help to will our own better future, and the better future of the worldnot renounce our higher gift, and say, ' Let us be as if we were not among the populations," but choose our full heritage, claim the brotherhood of our nation, and carry it into a new brotherhood with the nations of the Gentiles. The vision is there: it will be fulfilled."

But there was no more potent factor in finally creating an interest in the larger aspect of the Jewish question than the attempt made to resettle the Promised Land. It is true that all through the Middle Ages communities of Jews had lived in various parts of Palestine, chiefly in Jerusalem and in one or two cities of Galilee, making a brave fight against overwhelming political and economic odds. The relation of these communities with the Jews of other lands had not been intimate, and had been preserved largely by the collectors of alms, who gathered sustenance for the Talmudic and Cabalistic Schools.

Two events which had attracted the attention of the whole world towards Palestine and Syria caused the Jews of Europe to see the duty that lay upon them in connection with their brethren in the nearer East, and to feel the bond that had. held so closely in times gone by.

The first of these was the Damascus " ritual murder " case in the year 1840, as a result of which Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolphe Cremieux, and Salomon Munk iourneved to Mehemet Ali in

What is Zionism?- order to obtain redress from him, and thus became personally acquainted with the sufferings of their Eastern brethren. Twenty years later the Jews were agam falsely implicated in the massacre of Maronite Christians by the Druses in the neighbourhood of Damascus.

Even in very Orthodox circles a new conception of the role Palestine was to play in the future had gradually asserted itself. Hirsch Kalischer, Rabbi in Thorn, Prussia, in his work " Emunah Yesharah," published in i860, conceded that the Messianic idea

can become a fact only in the slow working of historic events. It was Kalischer's written word that brought about the first attempt made by the Jews to redeem the Land of Promise, for it inspired Charles Netter, under whose auspices the Alliance Israelite Univers-elle founded the Mikweh Israel Agricultural School. Kalischer himself made an' attempt at actual colonization in the early 'seventies near Lake Tiberias, and at the same time a settlement was effected at Petach Tikwah, near Jaffa; but these were sporadic, probably unintelligent experiments, valuable rather as indications of a real interest in the matter than as successful political accomplishments.

The anti-Semitic movement of 1881 and the following years was a practical lesson that finally awakened the Jews to the fact that, while the world had progressed in general ideas of communal and international comity, the Jewish position had grown worse. After the havoc consequent on the May

Laws, Leo Pinsker, a physician, sent a warning note ringing through Russian Jewry. In his work " Auto-Emancipation " he concludes that the root of evil from which the Jews are suffering is the fact that since the destruction of Jerusalem the various peoples and rulers have never had to deal with the Jews as a nation, but only with individual settlements of Jews. It is therefore a duty which the Jews owe themselves to find and to found a centre, not necessarily in the Holy Land, but wherever a fitting soil can be found for the homeless people. But Pinsker did not only preach self-emancipation; he sketched in broad outline the means that were to be adopted to reach this end. His perspicacity and clear vision are evident from the circumstance that in a general way the lines he foreshadowed, but was not destined to see realized, are those upon which later developments were to run.

But those lofty ideas were but dimly understood by the people at large, and Dr. Pinsker, being unable to achieve the full measure of his purpose, was forced to accept less and to become the head of the Choveve Zion (Lovers of Zion). This movement, which had Odessa for its centre, spread into all parts of the Diaspora, and did excellent work in assisting colonization and furthering the dissemination of culture among the Jews of Palestine. Critics, however, urged that it failed to utilize the rare opportunity it had of making its programme large, bold, and statesmanlike; and when Zionism started to occupy the position which, in their opinion, the Choveve Zion Societies should have taken, there was noticeable discord between the two parties. However, the London body accepted the Zionist platform in' 1898, and the Odessa Committee in 1906 acquiesced in the resolution adopted by the Seventh Congress. It is, moreover, undeniable that, without the primal interest in Palestine which the Choveve Zion generated and centralized in Russia, it would have been difficult for Herzlian Zionism to penetrate there.

In the year 1874 the first attempt was made to found a Jewish agricultural colony in Palestine. Some Jews from Jerusalem laid the first stone of Petach Tikwah. The second attempt dates from 1882, when immigrants from Russia and Roumania settled at Rishon-Le-Zion' and Wad-el-Chanin in Judea, Rosh Pinnah in Galilee, and Zichron-Jacob in Samaria. The real impetus to these attempts belongs to the Choveve Zion. Although these pioneers suffered dire necessity, they kept manfully to the task they had set themselves. The history of, Jewish colonization in Palestine between the years 1882 and 1889 represents a further attempt at a solution of the Jewish question on

the lines of the old philanthropic nationalism. It was not until 1907 that the evils of the bureaucratic system and of absentee landlordism were fully recognised, and the colonies handed over to the colonists. In this way the duties of government were laid upon the shoulders of those who by rights were called upon to bear them, and a more -5 The History of Zionism.

healthy spirit was engendered. Material prosperity followed in the wake of the change. In 1911 the Vinegrowers' Association of Rishon-Le-Zion and Zichron-Jacob were able to pay off nearly half a million francs of their indebtedness to Baron Edmund de Rothschild.

But the man who was finally to give to Palestinian colonization the full force of its attraction, and to endow the programme of Choveve Zionism with a wider appeal, was, curiously enough, a typical product of that very milieu which had for so long remained callous to the voice of Jewish nationalism. Theodor Herzl was, in point of fact, quite unprepared for the work which he was called upon o do. A student of law at the Vienna University, he had been completely drawn away by other and more secular interests from contact with Jewish affairs. His exquisite and facile pen had led him into literature and journalism while livmg in Paris as the representative of the Neue Freie Presse. The anti-Semitic campaign attendant upon the Dreyfus affair had made a deep impression upon his sensitive nature, and awakened with a start his dormant Jewish consciousness.

"Der Judenstaat " was written in Paris in the year 1895. It is evident to how great an extent Herzl's personality was instrumental in the unifying and upbuilding work that he did, from the very fact that the doctrines that he propounded were not new. They had been set forth quite as translucently by Pinsker, who even suggests the same practical measures as those enunciated by Herzl, by means of which the " Jewish State " was to be built up.

I am assured that Herzl had never heard of " Auto-Emancipation " until several years had elapsed, nor had he known of Hess's " Rome and Jerusalem." It is, therefore, the more remarkable that the conclusions are so similar.

Starting from the premise that anti-Semitism is a continually increasing menace, and that it is evidently ineradicable, he comes to the conclusion that the outside world does not desire to intermingle with the Jews except upon conditions that are subversive to the continuance of the Jews as a people. That which the Jewish people needs is a definite and certain home, and it is to the realisation of this end that Herzl devotes most of his attention. He demands the formation of a new organization, a " Society of Jews," which is to make all the preliminary scientific and political investigations and be succeeded by a " Jewish Company " with a capital of fifty million pounds, and with a seat in London. Notwithstanding a poetic foresight that was native in him, Herzl writes with the pen of a politician and speaks the language of a statesman. He is a cool and modern man of the world, speaking to moderns like himself.

From all the evidence it is plain that Herzl never had the slightest idea of placing himself at the head of a practical organisation. When he moved back to Vienna, the Kadhnah, a nationalistically inclined society of Jewish

University students, addressed him a letter in which it acknowledged its adhesion to his views, and made a direct proposition, looking to the founding of a society of Jews

to take up the work he had mapped out. But the first just appreciation of the whole scope of Herzl's scheme was by Israel Zangwill, through whose instrumentality he was-invited to appear before the Maccabasans in London in July, 1896. Herzl himself had inaugurated a public discussion of what had now become known as Zionism by a letter to the Jewish Chronicle, in which he says:

My pamphlet will open a general discussion on the Jewish question. The newly formed society will then find out for the first time whether the Jews really wish to go to the Rromised Land, and whether they ought to go there."

The first edition of " Der Judenstaat" had been published in Vienna in 1896. The question raised by the pamphlet had, in fact, penetrated far and wide. In some manner not as yet explained it had 'been brought to the notice of the Sultan of Turkey, who, according, to the statement of Mr. Lucien Wolf, despatched to Herzl in May, 1896, a secret emissary, the Chevalier de Newlinsky, with the offer of a charter for Palestine in return for the cessation of the European Press campaign against him because of the Armenian massacres. The J? vs, however, were not only not so powerful in the Continental Press as the Sultan supposed; they were also not so supine i' to execute such a bargain and reach their own poal over the dead bodies of another race. This circumstance was at all events calculated to induce Herzl to persevere, and early in 1897 he issued the call for the First Congress, which was to be the beginning of his constructive policy. By this he meant the passage from discussion to deed, and it was consequently necessary that the various Jewish organizations and' certain public men should define their position towards the new movement. It must be admitted that this position was in most cases frankly hostile.

The larger organizations, such as the Alliance Israelile Universellc in Paris, the Jewish Colonization Association, and the Vienna Allianz, announced a determined opposition, and even the Choveve Zion in Western Europe refused to join hands. Zionism was too orthodox for the Reform Jews, not sufficiently religious for the Orthodox, and too Jewish for the Know-nothings.

In addition to the difficulties resultmg from purely doctrinal considerations, there was evident a certain solicitude, a mistrust and apprehension that Zionism might bring in its wake a catastrophe boding evil to the political position won by the Jews in so many modern civilised states. It was feared by many that the movement justified the charge that the Jews were strangers in the various lands of the Diaspora. This disquietude, as well as a certain Chauvinism which was deemed necessary as a counterblast to Zionist propaganda, was exhibited in various quarters. In 1897 the association of Rabbis in Germany suggested the possibility of an entente by publicly declaring that.

while " the attempts to found a Jewish national State in Palestine are contrary to the Messianic promise of Judaism,. no opposition can be seen to the noble plan to colonize Palestine with Jewish agriculturists." But the limitation demanded of the Zionists was one which in good conscience they could not accept. Nationalism was the very heart of the movement, and without it all the other members would become atrophied. The contending positions were thus clearly defined; the two sides had joined issue.

jl have said that the summoning of the Congress was the first constructive work attempted by Herzl. Its importance lay in the fact that it was not only to be the means for concentrating various efforts that were being made towards a common goal, but

in itself it was the announcement of a definite policy ultimately connected with all Zionist endeavour that of organization upon a democratic basis.

Moreover, the Jews had had no forum from which they could speak to the-world at large. A Congress of Jews speaking with a delegated authority in the name of a large body of the people, and holding its deliberations m public, was calculated to have a wide hearing, and to serve the cause of the Jews in general. It has been argued that the Zionists arrogated to themselves an office they did not really possessthat of speaking in the name of the whole Jewish people. The arraignment is not without some justification, which, however, on second thought is more seeming than real. The Congress never sought to hide the fact that it had its many opponents, but it felt that, composed as it was of delegates representing all the various ph'ases of Jewish life and thought, it had a certain universal Jewish character, and that, therefore, its assumption to speak for what has been well called Catholic Israel was not the presumption it seemed to be at first sight.

The first Congress met at Basle in August, 1897. It was intended to hold it at Munich, but this plan was actively opposed by the official Jewish communit- of that citw The chief import of this Congress lies in the fact that it drew up a declaration which in its opening paragraph has become the watchword of the whole movement, and which is universally known as " The Basle Programme." This paragraph affirms that " The object of Zionism is to establish for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." In employing the words " secured bv public law," the Congress laid stress upon the fact that what was demanded was a right and not a favottr, that the Jewish masses counted upon the assistance of more fortunate peoples in obtaining the status which these enjoyed. A home, to be effectively assured to the Jewish people, must be legally recognized as such b)- the forces that control the forward movement of modern civilization; under other conditions it might ' become as insecure as the present tenure in various lands. The important words " in Palestine'" denote a distinct change in Herzl's mental attitude, for in " Der Judenstaat " he speaks of Palestine or any other country that may be found suitable. He had evidently come to see that the Jewish heart was beating for one spot, and could no longer have any doubt that the future of Israel was bound up irrevocably with Palestine. It is true that a strong minority in the organization of the Congress insisted upon the older standpoint, and formed an active opposition which led in after-years to the exciting scenes of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses.

Eleven sessions of the Congress were held between 1897 and 1913; from 1897 to 1901 yearly; from that time forward bi-annually. Although a certain change had taken place in Herzl's attitude regarding Palestine, he still held to the large political view of the whole question. He believed that the policy of what he called smuggling a few families into Palestine was unworthy of a great causethat it was necessary to secure first and foremost political rights. This attitude, which caused him to be looked upon by a portion even of his own adherents as an opponent of Palestinian colonization, is explained by the precarious state in which the Turkish Empire was at that time. His negotiations with the Sultan, carried out in various ways between the years-1898 and 1903, seemed to lead to no definite result. Even if the various offers of the Sultan were

made, in good faith, the Jewish people refused to give Herzl the means with which to close any bargain.

In the meantime many in the Organization grew restless, especially two groups of the Congress-one representing the older Choveve

Zion view, to whom the name Zioiie Zion, or Zionist a outrance, was given; the other made up of pure nationalists, whose specific interest was directed to Palestine as a possible centre rather than the only possible one. This latter group reasoned that, if the undertakings with the Sultan were likely to prove abortive, it behoved the Zionist leaders to look elsewhere, and to find another land in which the much-desired home could be established.

It is from this point of view that we must regard the attempt made in 1898 by Dr. Davis Trietsch and others to transfer Jewish colonization to the island of Cyprus, as well as the concession demanded for a Jewish settlement in El-Arish. The matter of El-Arish had originally been broached by the German Zionists in 1901, and was taken up by Herzl in the autumn of 1902. The negotiations opened in London were pursued in Cairo, and in the beginning of 1903 a scientific expedition was sent thither to report upon the feasibility of the plan." The report of this Commission has never been made public, but it is generally understood not to have been unfavourable. The negative outcome of the matter was, according to the Anglo-Egyptian Government, due to the lack of water there, which would necessitate the use of some of the Nile overflow for irrigation purposes, and this could not be spared by Egypt. But the spirit in which the British Government had treated the proposal concerning El-Arish was particularly pleasing and encouraging. The goodwill and support of the statesmen of a land that was thoroughly imbued with liberal ideas and tendencies, and that had had such varied experiences in colonization, were rightly looked upon by Herzl as a most valuable asset.

It was while Mr. Chamberlain was visiting the newly acquired East African Protectorate that he conceived the idea that here might be found a convenient place for a Jewish settlement. The possibility of such a settlement had first been mooted in the London Jewish Chronicle in July, 1903, by a correspondent. Robert P. Yates, who was entirely outside the Zionist body. The negotiations culminated in an official letter from Sir Clement Hill to Mr. L. J. Greenberg, dated from the Foreign Office, August 14th, 1903. It has been said with reason that this letter marks an epoch in Jewish history. It is not concerned with individual Jews, nor with a small community, but with the whole Jewish race, and its oflier contained a measure of self-government which might well tempt the most sanguine nationalist, a grant of land, a Jewish head official, and practical autonomy under the general control of the home Government. It is as well to state here that official Zionist hopes and aspirations have never gone beyond that point.

The position of Herzl was indeed difficult. The letter, of Sir Clement Hill had come to him almost on the eve of the Sixth Congressaugust 23rd-28th, 1-903. By presenting this letter he ran the risk of alienating the Choveve Zion element, known to be intransigent on the subject of Palestine.

On the other hand, it was impossible to ignore so generous an action on the part of a great Power. In his masterly and carefully worded opening address Herzl tried to

make it clear that this was not an alternative to Palestine, that East Africa could not be Zion; but the Congress by a large majority would have none of it. The opposition was made up of the democratic faction, nearlv all the Russians, the Choveva Zionists, and even some of the closest friends of Dr. Herzl. As the country had been imperfectly surve'ed and studied, it was evident that the one proper course to take was to send a commission of inquiry, on the basis of whose report an intelligent estimate could be made of the real value of the whole offer. This proposition was accepted, and provision was made for a special meeting of the delegates at the next Congress, at which the report of the Commission could be discussed.

The genera view of the Commission, which went out to East Africa in December, 1903, seemed to be that the territory was insufficient for any large number of Jewish settlers, and that the ground was fit rather for grazing than for agriculture. Besides, a strong opposition to the grant had developed in the East African Protectorate, and telegrams arrived at the Foreign Office couched in terms that showed the difficulties such a settlement would have to encounter. Several lines of cleavage which had existed within the ranks of the Congress from the beginning had been accentuated and made more apparent by the East African project.

During the sessions of the Sixth Congress a Jewish Congress had been held in Palestine. The organization which this Congress proposed showed that Palestinian Jewry was drawing apart from the leaders of the Zionist movement. Most of the Russian leaders sympathized with it. Those of them who were members of the Central Committee met at Kharkoff in October, 1903, and agreed to obtain from Herzl a written promise to relinquish the East African project. The resolutions of the Kharkoff Conference were, however, permitted to drop out of sight, and nothing further was heard of the new organization projected in Palestine. The Seventh Congress of 1905 was to decide upon the East African offer.

The final resolution that brought to an end official discussion on the subject declared that " The Zionist organization rejects either as an end or as a means colonizing activities outside of Palestine and its adjacent lands. The Congress records with satisfaction the recognition accorded by the British Government to the Zionist organization in its desire to bring about a solution of the Jewish problem, and expresses a sincere hope that it may be accorded the further good offices of the British Government, where available, in any matter it may undertake in accordance with the Basle programme." Most of the Territorial-ists abstained from taking part in the official vote, and later caused the first real and effective split in the Zionist organization by forming the Zionistic Territorial Organization in Berne, which afterwards, under the leadership of Mr. Israel Zangwill, became the Ito, or Jewish Territorial Organization.

Herzl's death in 1904 produced a change in the centre of Zionist activity, which had up to that time very naturally been in the place of his permanent abode. But Vienna, although it possessed certain natural advantages, was not a spot favourable for active Jewish propaganda. For a short time London was debated, but London was the seat of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and it would have been unwise to concentrate all the Zionist institutions in one locality. Germany, the home of two of the leaders and closest friends of Herzl, was finally chosen as the future home of the movement. It was from this very Germany that the strongest protests and pronouncements had come during the earlv

vears of Zionism. But the Russian and Roumanian Jewish students at the German Universities, a number of them nationalists, had founded their own rrbindunen, and gradually gained adherents from among the German-born Jewish students. These societies, of which there are a sur-prisingh' large number, have brought into the bonds of the closest ideal friendship a number of young men who have acted as leaven both within the University and without. It was this idealism that prepared the way for the definite leadership assumed by the German Zionists in 1911, when the seat of the Inner Actions Committee was fixed in Berlin, and when Professor Otto Warburg was chosen by his colleagues to preside over the Committee.

This change to the place of the central governing body denoted also a certain change in policy, or, to be more just, a greater accentuation of one part of Zionist activity. The old rivalry between the two lines along which the Movement had been conducted had become somewhat stereotyped in the designation of the one as " Political " Zionism, and of the other as " Palestinian '"' Zionism. The arch-" politicals " held fast to the formulae which Herzl had laid down at the beginning of his Zionist career. They believed that it was wrong and unwise to forward colonisation before full political guarantees had been secured. The extreme

Palestinian " Zionists were impatient for what was called " practical " work in Palestine. It was these latter who were in a measure to carry the day.

Originally they were a group of Russians, at whose head was Mr. M. Ussischkin; but after Herzl's death their representatives at Congress were assisted by the German contingent, and during the period 1904-igii, when the Zionist organisation was under the leadership of David Wolffsohn, they made rapid strides. At the Congress of 1911 they won a final victory, and passed from the Opposition to the Government benches. A practical expression of their policy has been given by the Palestine Commission, which has furthered various Palestinian enterprises, and has made it possible to rally to its assistance other elements in Jewish life than merely affiliated Zionists. The Technical School at Haifa, the Hebrew Gymnasium at

Jaffa, the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Atlit, and the Bezalel School at Jerusalem, though all the outcome of Zionist impulse, would hardly have been possible without the substantial aid of many who would object to being classed as Zionists.

The new direction given to the Zionist movement has been strangely favoured by historic events in Turkey itself. During the Absolutist regime it had been possible for Herzl to treat with the Sultan alone, but with the change of government Charterism became impracticable, and it was plain that other methods would have to be employed. In any case, it was obviously not the time to push whatever claims the Jews might have to" urge in Palestine, but simply to work there for the upbuilding of the country and for the economic and cultural strengthening of the Jewish position in the land, and to enlighten the Committee of Union and Progress upon the real ends and aims of Zionism.

Unfortunately, this enlightening process has not been carried very far, although in igo8 the Anglo-Levantine Company, a daughter institution of the Jewish Colonial Trust, was established at Constantinople for that express purpose. An atmosphere of suspicion and even hostility had been engendered, thanks to the German colonists in

the neighbourhood of Jaffa, the restlessness of the Arabs, and certain Syrian agitators. During the early months of the Turkish Parliament, some members alleged in the course of a debate that

Zionism was a world-wide intrigue against Ottoman statehood, behind which some great Jewish banking houses were seeking to gain their own ends! Now, upon no point had so much insistence been put by Zionist leaders as upon the loyalty of the movement to the ruling sovereignty. In the pre-Herzlian period Pinsker and Achad ha-Am had insisted upon a proper and faithful understanding with Constantinople. At the very first Congress in 1897 Herzl had set a seal upon an open and loyal intercourse with the Turkish authoritiesa point which he emphasised at the Third Congress. The attitude of the Zionist leaders in this matter has been put into words by Nordau, Wolffsohn, and others; they have all plainly shown that the Zionists conceived their mission as in no way hostile to the sovereign of Palestine.

There are several other phases in the development of the Zionist movement which deserve special mention. One of these is that represented by the Poale Zion, or the Labour party in the Zionist organization, who lay stress on, hat ihey call the social-economic side of the work in Palestine. They hold that a people can make its influence felt only when it is attached to the ground on which it lives, and actually tills this ground, and that all the attempts at colonization made in Palestine are vitiated at the root by the fact that the old system of land ownership and landlordism has been preserved. For the Mizrachi group, on the other hand, the Zionist ideal is bound up with strict adherence to the ideas and forms of tradi- tional Judaism. It has not at all times been easy to meet their exigencies on the solution of other than purely religious questions. With wise and felicitous foresight, Herzl had realised that Zionism can fulfil its undertaking only if it dismisses all such questions from its concern, and simply prepares the ground which shall make possible various manifestations of the Jewish spirit in Palestine.

There is a third phase which has acquired much credit, not only in Zionist quarters, but in Jewry in general, commonly called Achad ha-Amism. Usher Ginzbergor, to use his pen-name, Achad ha-Amis the great preacher of prophetical Hebraism. His interest is centred not upon the political aspect of re-settlement of Palestine, but on the form of Jewish culture that will be fructified. Thus Palestine is to be a " spiritual centre." But, in order that it may become this, the Jews in the Diaspora must also be regenerated spiritually, so that " the spiritual centre which is destined to be created in our ancestral country " shall come as a " response to a real and insistent national demand."

It is indeed a true sign that the spirit for which Achad ha-Am pleads is still alive, that the Jewish settlers of Palestine have proceeded directly to the cultivation of the Hebrew spirit along lines which lead to the goal envisaged by him. That spirit has been refreshed and refined by the surroundings in which it moves; more normal conditions of life have had their natural effect, and a noble idea has not been soiled for want of free room in which to develop. The Hebrew language, which has been so important a factor in reviving national sentiment, is gradually driving Judeo-German and the European tongues to the wall, and the various schools, although they may be criticized

in certain directions, are training the young in the spirit of the fathers and in the rejuvenated ideals of the past.

It has often been said that Zionism, while it may be a mieans for mitigating some of the Jewish misery in Eastern Europe, has no real message to the so-called emancipated Jews. The leaders of American Reform have gone so far as to look upon Zionism as the negation of the best hope and promise of Judaism. The dissemination and diffusion of the Jews is elevated by them to the position of doctrinal sublimity, and stress is laid upon this, dispersion as the means for the proper fulfilment of the Jewish " Mission." But how is such a mission to be carried out if in the process the bearers, of the mission are bound to succumb? It is true that until quite modern times the various communities of Jews, though living in agglomerations that were usually small in extent, were able to keep-up a similar communal life by means of a common practice. Territorial distinctions had been disregarded and almost obliterated. But now that concessions are made to what is called " the needs of the day," the Jewish communities will tend to develop away from each other, and a consequent deadening of Jewish consciousness is bound to occur. A complete reversion to the unity of practice seems impossible. The Jewish hope must be reconstructed upon modern lines. Embodied m 3. physical centre, illuminated by a rekindled light, it will serve as a point towards which the thoughts,-aspirations and longings of the Jews of the Diaspora will converge, and from which they will draw, each in his own measure, that sufficiency of moral and religious strength that will better-enable them to resist the encroachments of their surroundings.

The erection of a Jewish centre in Palestine would in no way carry with it the nullification of duties resting upon Jews elsewhere. The reform.

few, with his ideal of a mission, could carry forward that mission in the future as he has in the past. The' theory that Zionism looks for the concentration of -all Jews in one spot is a theory of windy unreality, for Palestine is insufficient to contain the whole of the Jewish population of the world in addition to Its present inhabitants. In fact, a serious stimulus would be given to the spreading of the very mission that it is feared will be endangered.

Another serious difficulty seems to confront the Western Jew, which is the supposed conflict that might arise between his responsibility to a Jewish concentration and his fealtv towards the state of which he is a citizen. This fear is founded on the errors that citizenship is coincident with racial unity, and that a good citizen can have no other ties of allegiance than those which bind him to the 'State of which he is a member. But no State can 'dem. and that the individual shall relinquish his 3 The History of Zionism.

peculiarities, his traditions, liis family relationships; nor can it ask of any group to give up its historic associations, its connection with the other groups of the same religion living elsewhere. It can only demand that as citizens all elements shall put the needs of the State in which they live in the foreground of their thought, and render to it and to the ideals for which it stands the best efforts they are capable of. Should a conflict ever arise between the duties towards the State in which the Jew lives and his responsibility to the Jewish centre, he will be forced to make his choice; but as

the Jewish home is not to be founded for territorial or other aggrandizement, such a conflict lies in the penumbra of pure speculation.

In preparation for this home, Zionism has commenced to lay the foundation-stones. Its work in Palestine is a surety that the end can be reached if only the will is there. It is absurd to speculate upon the future of the movement; to predict its success upon the lines of its modern development would be as useless as to foretell its failure. But the continuing dispersion of the Jews into yet new corners of the globe makes the Jewish patriot, whether he be purely religious, or purely national, or religiouslv national, fearful of the consequences.

Some such solution of the problem as that foreshadowed in the Zionist outlook seems necessary and desirableif there is to be any outlook left, and if the "remnant that returns" is to be worthy of Its species.

It has been said in another connection that a people that has had a great past, if it is to have a correspondingly great future, must also have a great present. For this great present Zionism is working, in order that Judaism may have a still more glorious future. In this sense Zionism and Judaism become one and the same.

Richard Gottheil.

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THE JEWISH NATI0I4AL MOVEMENT
DECLARATION BY
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has transmitted to Lord Rothschild the following letter:

Foreign Office,
Novi-uibcr 2nd, 1917

Di: ar Lord Rothschild, I have much pleasure in conveing to 'ou, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy ith Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

"His Majesty's Qovernment view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if-()u would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincereh',
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

A NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE

"XT'ltH one step the Jewish cause has made a great bound forward. The declaration of His Alajesty's Government as to the future of Palestine in relation to the Jewish people marks a new epoch for our race. For the British Government, in accordit is without doubt to be assumedwith the rest of the Allies, has declared itself in favour of the setting up in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and has undertaken to use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object.

Amidst all that is so dark and dismal and tragic throughout the world, there has thus arisen for the Jews a great light. It is the perceptible lifting of the cloud of centuries, the palpable sign that the Jew condemned for two thousand years to unparalleled wrongis at last coming to his right. The prospect has at last definitely opened up of a rectification of the Jew's anomalous position among the nations of the earth. He is to be given the opportunity and the means whereby, in place of being a hyphenation, he can become a nation.

Instead of, as Jew, filling a place at best equivocal and doubtful, even to himself, and always with an apologetic demeanour inseparable from his position, he can, as

Jew, stand proud and erect, endowed with national being. In place of being a wanderer in every clime, there is to be a Home for him in his ancient land. The day of his exile is to be ended.

The declaration of the Government, which concedes the Zionist position in principle, must have effects, far-reaching and vital, upon the future of Jews and Judaism. A National Home for the Jewish people established in Palestinewhatever the exact form it may take in the circumstances in which it may be initiatedis certain to develop, and in good time fulfil, the fond traditional aspirations of the Jewish people. They will become an entity of which the world will have no doubt. Questions of religion and of race, and all other questions which to-day ai'e set up and tend to confuse Jewish issues, will have no significance in face of the fact that the world will have recognised the Jews as a nation.

The determination at which the Government has arrived is doubtless the result of political circumstances which have taken shape through the war. And what has probably been one of its chief considerations in the course it has adopted is the necessity for making Palestine a prosperous country, independent and vigorous, and that by reason of the Empire's obligations to Egypt and its responsibility in respect to the Suez Canal.

But this idea is by no means of to-day. The (, A NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE setting-up in Palestine of a National Jewish Home was favourably viewed by that great Egyptian Pro-Consul, Lord Cromer, as well as by that far-seeing Imperialist, Joseph Chamberlain. Nor has the Government come in haste to its conchision that a Jewish Palestine would be helpful to the best interests of the Empire. The declaration now made may be traced, for the beginnings of the policy which animates it, to the days when the great founder of the modern Zionist movertient, Dr. Herzl, negotiated with the British Government in respect to proposed settlements, first in El Arish and then in East Africa.

And it is of interest to recall the fact that at least three of those who are prominently responsible for the present declaration were associated with those schemes. Mr. Balfour, whose letter to Lord Rothschild announces the Government's policy, was then Prime Minister. Lord Milner, as High Comm. issioner in South Africa, was associated with Mr. Chamberlain in the East African project; while it may be added as an interesting fact that Mr. Lloyd George, through the firm of solicitors with which he was then connected, advised professionally upon the proposed scheme for a Jewish settlement in East Africa and upon the necessary papers for the expedition sent out to examine the territory denominated.

Of these schemes, one failed to materialise and the other was practically rejected by the Zionist Congress. Both, however, performed, as it now turns out, useful foundation work. Here is yet another instance of the stone rejected by the builders; and it is with proud thankfulness that we realise that it is .4 NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE y in the Government of this country that the yeast has leavened.

It would be niggardly indeed if the fullest acknowledgment were not accorded to the Zionist Movement for the success to which it has now attained. Through years of agitation and propaganda, and let it be acknowledgedof opposition that not occasionally was venomous and bitter, Zionists have carried on their work for the

Jewish cause as they saw it. With splendid energy and matchless devotion, in face of many a setback and many a disappointment, they have never turned from the work that was to them a sacred mission.

And now they have obtained, not merely an historic acknowledgment that their view of the Jewish position was the right and the practical one, but that their activityso often misrepresented, so often condemned, so often balked by the most powerful sections of Jewrywas politically sound and ethically just. It is a great victory, which must encourage the movement from end to end of the world and give to it an enormous impetus for the labours, the heavy labours, that aire now before it.

Where all, from the most prominent leader to the humblest follower, have wrought so valorously, it may possibly seem invidious to mention specially any names in connection with the Government declaration. But it would be churlish to withhold from Dr. Weizmann the fullest measure of praise and congratulation, of honour and of respect; for it is his diplomatic achievement of which the declaration is the result. In his work in this connection he has been magnificently seconded by M. Sokolow, who was specially delegated as a member of the executive body of the organisation, for Zionist work in this country.

What, in view of the present development, will be the attitude of those Jews who have hitherto been opponents of Jewish National aspirations is an interesting contemplation. Their position has been based in the main upon the unfeasibility of the Zionist proposals; upon the undesirability of any National re-settlement which would come under the aegis of Turkish rule; upon the plea that any support accorded to the movement by Jews must necessarily be disloyal to the countries of which our people are citizens; and that the nations of the world would resent the setting-up of Jews as a separate nationality. Mr. Balfour's letter puts a summary end to all these stock objections of the anti-Nationalists.

With the more specifically Jewish, or, as they are sometimes termed, the religious objections, we need not here deal. In the first place, they at best have run very thin, and, in the next place, we imagine that, in face of the expressed opinion of the British Government, they will not trouble very much those who have hitherto employed them faute de mieux often insincerely, because they were really concerned entirely with the thought of how Jewish Nationahsm might affect their citizen position. We cannot imagine that loyal British subjects, and those who proclaim themselves loyal Jews to boot, will continue their attitude of hostility towards the Jewish National strivings in face of the Government statement.

But more than ever the Conference which we have proposed and for which we have pleaded in recent issues of the Jewish Chronicle becomes vitally necessary. In view of the present position of affairs, every Jew will surely strive to beat out of Jewry the disunion hitherto rife upon the question of Palestine. For it is no longer a party matter. It has emerged into a truly National concern, in regard to which there must be no parties, but only one all Jewry.

There is now opening out for Jewry a new era upon a higher plane, far above all our comparatively petty strivings and puny struggleseven the most importantin which for the most part we have been wont to engage. The invitation to us is to enter into

the family of the Nations of the Earth endowed with the franchise of Nationhood, to become emancipated, not as individuals or sectionally, but as a whole people.

Not individually, nor sectionally, but as that of a whole people must be our response. And that, in the only thinkable form, can be arrived at in no better, in no more complete manner, we feel certain, than by such a Conference as that we have adumbrated. We still think it would be an excellent thing if the Government were to call such a Convention, and, as a basis of discussion, place before it their declaration. Indeed, it seems to us that the Government, as the natural complement to its present action, should lend its supreme influence to the gathering of such an inter-allied Jewish meeting.

But, in any case, there must now be for the whole Community a stock-taking, a re-setting of Jewish economic and political values; and no surer method for reaching a fair and equitable general opinion can we imagine than the taking of sweet counsel together between those who upon this Jewish National question have hitherto been opponents.

We have called the Government declaration " a Jewish triumph." It is in truth much more. It is a triumph for civilisation and for humanity. For it points the way to an ending of the brutal suppression of our people from which not alone they have suffered during the last two thousand years, but from which civilisation, albeit indirectly, has suffered no less certainly. It will mean releasing for mankind, as a great spiritual force, the soul of our people, cramped and bound as it has hitherto been because of the world-position till now assigned to the Jew. The time can at last be descried when the Jew will be able, without let or hindrance, to perform for the world his mission of Judaism, that mission which alone is the justification for his existence as a Jew, and the sense of his responsibility for which has alone enabled him to endure the untellable suffering to which our people have been subjected.

Let us, however, not be mistaken. The Jewish fight is, we are fully conscious, not finished; complete victory is not won. Indeed, we are not sure if just now is not beginning the real testing-time for Jews and for the Jewish National spirit; if just now is not being proved for the first time the real measure of Zionism.

We are not in the least unmindful of the great and sacred work which the Government declaration has opened out for Jewry. A position, a great, a vital, a decisive position, has been wonwon for the Jew and won for humanity. The Government declaration marks the definite opening of a new chapter, we beheve a great and glorious chapter, in the history of our people. It is a memorable day for Israel: " This is the day the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad therein."

OPINIONS OF SOME PUBLIC MEN ON THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

Capt. L. S. Amery, M. P.: I am in entire sympathy with the proposal for re-establishing a national and spiritual home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

Sir J. T. Agg-Gardner, M. P.: I view the aspiration of promoting an autonomous Jewish Community with sympathy and with every wish for its success.

Major Rowland PIunt, M. P.: I should think it would be an excellent thing if the Jewish people could be re-established in Palestine.

Major Davies, M. P.: I am deeply interested in the movement which you are conducting and hope that it will soon reach a successful result.

Mr. M. L. Hearn, M. P.: In the struggle for the re-establishment of your race in their ancient national home the Jewish people have mj? full sympathy and good wishes.

Mr. J. Annan Bryce, M. P.:

The world ought to rejoice that the race to which it owes the idea of a spiritual life should, at last, have a footing on a land which it can call its own.

Mr. William Field, M. P.: I have supported this movement by attending and writing to meetings, and will continue to do anything I can to forward the legitimate aspirations of the Jews.

Mr. John P. Boland, M. P., J. P.: I sympathise very much with the aspirations of the Jewish people to return to their own land. As an Irish Nationalist I fully understand their longing to see the full development of their nationality.

Sir John Jardine, Bart., M. P.: I write to express my sympathy with the endeavours of the Jewish race to re-establish itself in Palestine in such a way that Jews may live and thrive under their own institutions.

14-1 NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Mr. Thomas Richards, M. P., Secretary South Wales Miners' Federation: I have always taken a very kindly interest in the Jewish Community, and shall be very glad to render any assistance in re-establishing the Jewish people in their ancient national home.

Mr. T. Owen Jacobsen, M. P.: I entirely sympathise with the movement to reestablish the Jewish people in their ancient national home. I have always hoped that the Jews would return one day in triumph to Palestine, and I fervently hope that day may now be not far distant.

Mr. Ronald Mcneill, M. P.:

The Zionist idea is one that enlists my warmest sympathy, and I ardently hope the settlement which tlie war will produce may be the means of re-establishing a Jewish State in the historical home of that race in the Holv Land.

The Rt. PIon. Charles Hobhouse, M. P,:

The movement which is in existence for the return of the Jews to Palestine has my complete sympathy. If they are to beas I hope they may berestored to a sense of settled nationality, then the only means by which that nationality can be asserted and assured is by the return to the land from which that nation sprang.

Lord Claud Hamilton:

His Lordship fully sympathises with the wish. to be re-established in Palestine, but he does not believe that any State aid from this or from other countries will be forthcommg in support of such a movement, until it is clearly established that all Jews, both rich and poor, are practically unanimous in their desire to return to the Holy Land.

Sir George A. Touche, M. P.:

One result of the war has been to accentuate national feeling, a feeling always strong among the British peoples. Perhaps this was the cause of the sympathy extended to the Jews by the British in the past, and it will, I am sure, create a spirit of willingness to help when the time comes for the Jewish race to form a national centre in Palestine.

Mr. J. G. Butcher, K. C, M. P.: I am in entire sympathy with the aspirations of the Jewish race for a re-settlement of their people in the ancient home of their fathers, and feel assured that the establishment of an industrious peace-loving people in Palestine,

free from all external oppression, would form a. guarantee for good government and security in that portion of the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M. P.: If out of this world upheaval should come a restoration of Palestine to your race, and a re-establishment of a Jewish State, I, for one, should rejoice. Such a State could appeal as nothing else could for tolerance and justice to the conscience of a world which I hope to see restored to sanity and civilisation under a League of Nations which shall make peace secure and oppression a memory.

Capt. W. Ormsby-Gore, M. P.: I have long been a keen supporter of the Zionist cause and am in full sympathy with Jewish National aspirations, and I look forward with confidence to the realisation of the Palestinian ideal. I have good friends among the Arabs, as well as among Palestinian Jews, and I trust that the mutual understanding which should exist between the two great branches of the Semitic family will be fruitful, not only in the future history of both nations, but in creating once more the source of so much culture and mspiration, which in the past has made mankind the debtors to Arab and to Jew.

PKlinTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY R. CLAY AND SONS, LTD., URUNSWICK STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S. E. I, AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

Great Jktim, Pesttne and

JEWirfa CELEBRATIOin OF ITS NATIONAL IsiaHTI

THE ZIONIST ORGAIfsATION: LONDON BUREAifi 35 KMPIRE HOUSC 175 PICCADILLY VVl 1 1918 f

GREAT BUITAn, PALESTIJfe AID THE JEWS

Jewry's Celebration of its National Charter

THE ZIONIST OEGANISATION: LONDON BUREAU 35 EMPIRE HOUSE, 175 PICCADILLY, W. l

THE CHARTER OF ZIONISM

LETTER FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The following 'are the terms of the letter to Loed EotHschilD in which Mk. a. J. Balpouk, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared the sympathy of the British Government with Zionist aspirations and its favourable attitude toivards the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people:

Foreign Office,

Novemher 2, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild, I have niucli leasure in convening to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following Declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted lo and approved by the Cabinet:

"His Majesty's Govemnent view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it bein.? clearly understood that nothing' shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledie of the Zionist Federation.

Tours sincl'rely, (Signed) AETHUE JAMES BALFOTTE.

PREFACE rfMIE Declaration by the British Government in– favour of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people constitutes the greatest event in the history of the Jews since their dispersion. The manner in which this Declaration has been received and celebrated in Jewish communities Ixjth here and abioad has been marked by boundless enthusiasm and overflowing' gratitude.

But for the fact that the world is still groaning under the scourge. of war the rejoicings by the Jewish people would do ibtless have assumed a much more imposing and jubilant character. But the record presented in this publication shows that the House of Israel is fully conscious of the high significance of the pledge of the British Governmont concerning ifs restoration.

This pamphlet is intended to give a brief and comprehensive survey of the various forms of celebration in Jewry in honour of the promulgation of the British Charter of Zionism. It is inevitably confined to the events and utterances of the first few weeks following the publication oe Mr. Balfour's historic letter, and cannot therefore include an adequate account of the celebrations in other lands. But it is woi-thy of note that in addition to the countless secular celebrations, tlie synagogues also took cognizance of the Grovernment declaration.

Altliotigh a political document, Mr. Balfoui-'s letter proclaims the forthcoming fulfilment of what has always been a religious ideal in Jewry; and it was therefore but right that the letter should have been read in numerous synagogues during the Sabbath service and formed the text of countless sermons.

GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

RESOLUTIONS, STATEMENTS, AND

MESSAGES OF ZIONIST

ORGANISATIONS.

ENalISH ZIONIST TE DERATION.

The Pronouncement of the British Government was received with enthusiasm and expressions of profound gratitude by Zionist Organisations in all the principal Jewish centres of the world.

The English Zionist Federation held a special meeting three days after the date of Mr. Balfour's letter, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved that the Executive Council of the English Zionist Federation has received with heartfelt joy and thanks the report of Dr. Weizmann, the President, on the issue of a Declaration by ILis Majesty's Grovernment in support of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and that it sincerely congratulates the President on having, in conjunction with Mr. Sokolow, brought about this most momentous achievement towards the realisation of the national aspirations of the Jewish people.

' Further, that the Executive Council begs the hon. officers to convey to His Majesty's Grovernment, on behalf of the English Zionist Federation, an expression of the respectful and profound sentiments of gratitude evoked among English

Zionists by tliis historic act in the national liberation of tbe Jewish people, wliich will for ever slied lustre on the proud traditions of British statesmanship, justice, and liberty."

THE UNITED STATES.

llie gratitude felt by the British Zionists was equalled by that felt and expressed by their colleagues in the United States.

The Provisional Zionist Committee of New York described the Dfclai'ation of the British Grovernment as marking an epoch in Jeavish history.

"The wise and magnanimous purpose of His Majesty's Government to use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of the Zionist aim is in consonance with the jdolicy of the British nation respecting the Jews. It is in consonance with the p'licyof the liberation and protection of small nationalities, which the Entente Powers, including our own Government, have determined shall prevail throughout the world."

At a Zionist Conference, held in Baltimore, the following i-esolutiou was carried unanimously:

"This conference, convened by the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, do offer Ir. Chaim Weizmann and Mr. Nahum Sokolow its deep-felt congratidations on the part tlipy have had in these negotiations with the British Government, which resulted in the British Declaration favouring re-establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, made by the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour on bclialf of the British Cabinet. We ask our associates in Loii. lon to convey to His Iajesty's Government expressions of gratitude from the Jewish people for the Declaration, which is in consonance with the traditions of the British people and in keeping with the aims of Great Britain and her Allies in this war for liberation and justice. Deeply we rejoice in the triump. h of British arms in Palestine, and the taking over of Palestine as another step in the march of the Allied Forces which is to fstablish throughout the world the principles of the invincible integrity of smaller nationalities. For these principles we and our Allies are prepared to make every sacrifice of treasure and life, until the great war shall have ended in the triumph of the high aims of the Allied nations."

RUSSIA.

The Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation of Russia ex3ressed the heartiest feelings and thanks of the Russian Zionists for the inspiring Declaration of His Majesty's Government " in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

"No more happy tidings could reach Russian Jewry than this timely expression by the British (Government of its attitude towards Palestine, and we cannot sufficiently express the importance which we attach thereto. We regard this noble act as a landmark in Jewish history.

"We find oursel-es particularly fo,-tunate that at this momentous time in the world's., history the interests of tbe British people and those of the Jewish nation should be identical. We also fervently hope and desire that the re-establishment of a Jewish home situated at the gateway of three continents and commanding the world's cliief arteries of communication will greatly facilit; ite the maintenance of international peace, and will serve the cultural ideals of mankind.

4 REAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

"His Majesty's ttovernnieut, in its noble and altruistic declaration, makes mention that in the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine the civil and religious rig-hts of extstinp' non-Jewish communities shall not be prejudiced. We Jews who have

suffered injustice for so many hundreds of years will never be able to impose any form of inequality on peoples living in Palestine. Furthermore, the spirit of our traditions and teachings forces us to recognise the complete equality of all mankind.

"In the annals of Jewish history the symjathy and assistance rendered by the British Government in the regeneration of the Jewish nation can never be eradicated. In her great beneticence the British Government offered us Jews El-Arish in 1902. Then again she showed us her cincrete desire to assist Jewish nationalism by her Uganda offer in 1903. As the highest evidence of the benevolence of His Majesty's Government we see that at this very moment, when her armies are triumphing in Palestine, she is not only offering this assistance towards the re-establishment of a Jewish home, but at the same time sh(is pledging her great political influence in this worthy undertaking.

"In the realisation of one of the greatest problems of the worldnamely, the complete liberation of the most oppressed nation of all timesthe British Government will give certain evidence to posterity that the many sacrifices she has made in this disastrous struggle were not made in vain, but were made for the greater enlightenment of the world."

FRANCE.

The Federation Sioniste de France sent the British Government a message of congratulation oil the occupation of Jerusalem. Tbey associated with that historic event the equally histoiic Declaration of the British Government in favour of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, and welcomed the advent of the promised day when the ancient people of the Book would, with the help of the glorious Allies, restore their ancient home on the beloved soil of their ancestors.

HOLLAND.

At a meeting of the Netherlands Zionist Federation there was repeated applause at a reference to Mr. Balfour's statement of accord with Zionist aims which, said the President, had given great joy to almost the whole of Jewry. Mr. Jean Fischer said that the Declaration of the British Government regarding Zionism was an historical fact of far-reaching- sisrnificance. The British Government had earned the everlasting gratitude of the Jewish people. It was resolved to send the following" telegram to the English Zionist Federation:

"The eighteenth General Convention of the Netherlands Zionist Federation expresses its gratitude to the British Government for its sympathetic attitude towards Zionism, and for its Declaration that it will do its best to contribute to the fulfilment of the' Zionist programme. Lieme, President; Van Vriesland, Secretary."

GEEMANY.

A German Zionist Conference, held in Berlin, adopted the following resolution:

"The German Zionist Association greets with satisfaction the fact that the British Government has recognised in an official Declaration the right of the Jewish people to a national existence in Palestine."

CANADA.

The Canadian Zionist Federation cabled-.

"Cordial greetings fron) Canadian Zionists. Overwhelming majority Canadian Jews hail with utmost enthusiasm and gratitude Declaration British (. lovernment regarding Palestine and Jewish people. This Declaration i' one of the mo, st momentous

in Jewish history. What Britain promises she will fulfil. The undying hopes for which Jews suffered martyrdom for twenty centuries will now be realised and Israel re-born. It means full accomplishment of Basle programme."

SWITZERLAND.

From the Union of Swiss Zionists came:

"The Swiss Zionist Federation having taken note, with the OTeatest satisfaction, of the Declaration of His Britannic Maje."ty's Government concerning the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jeavish people, heartily congratulates you on the great success. The Declaration of Mr. Balfour coincides with our Zionist aims. AVe hope that all the nations of the world will support these aims and thereby in a like manner assure themselves of the deep gratitude of the Jewish people.""

BELdluM.

Till'Belgian Zionist Federation, temporarily domiciled in the Hague, welcomed with enthusiasm " the important Declaration of His' Britannic Majesty's Coernirient to the Jewish)i(i)le. It is deeply grateful to the magnanimity of His Britannic Majesty's Grovernmeut for leeognising the legitimate national aspirations of the Jewish people to Palestine and heartily congratulates you on the triumph which crowns the Zionist effort."

SCANDINAVIA.

The Norwegian Zionist Federation's message ran:

"Though small, Norway's Zionistic Jewry joins gladly the elder Zionist Associations the world over in congratulating you heartily on great success as recorded by Mr. Balfour's Declaration of willingness of British Government to fully endorse and assist realisation our Palestine hopes. We record joyfully this essential step forward, doubly welcome in times of tribulation, and trust in further crowning with success of all your endeaa'ours."

At Stockholm the Scandinavian Zionist Association held a crowded meeting at which an expression of lively satisfaction wrs j)assed at the recent Declaration of His Majesty's Government regarding the future Jewish settlement in Palestine. A resolution was passed unanimously welcoming the action of His Majesty's Government and binding all present to use every effort to secure a national future for the Jewish people.

SALONICA.

The Committee of the Jewish Congress in Salonica sent a message to the following effect:

"Le Comite du Congres juif de Salonique a reyu avec une joie indicible communication de la declaration faite par je gouvernement de Sa Majeste Britannique relativemerit a la reconstitution de la nationalite juive en Palestine; son emotion est grande de voir les aspirations nationales du peuple juif recevoir une consecration aussi eclatante qui lui est donnee aujourd'hui par la grande et liberale nation anglaise. Les Israelites de Salonique communiant; ivec le judaisme imiversel expriment au gouvernement de Sa Majeste Britanniqne leur prafonde reconnaissance et fornient des vceux clialeureux pour le triomphe final dn droit, de la justice et du principe des nationalites si vaillarament defendus par I'Angleterre et ses Allies."

A large number of other messages were received by the London Zionist Bureau from Zionist Organisations in all parts of the world.

RESOLUTIONS OF OTHER JEWISH ORGANISATIONS.

JEWISH TEREITOEIAL OEGANISATION.

At a meeting of the British Headquarters' Council of the Jewish Territorial Organisation it was unanimously resolved to welcome the statement of the Govei'nment expressing sympath' with Jewish aspirations, and the Jewish Territorial Organisation, "founded to procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot, or will not, remain in the lands in which they at present live," declared its r(-adiness to co-operate with the Zionists in devising a scliciiie for the development of Palestine in accordance with its programme.

JEWISH BOAED OF DEPUTIES.

A meeting of the Jewish Board of Deputies adopted the fouos'ing resolution:

"That this Board desires to convey its grateful thanks to His Majesty's (xovermnent for its sympathetic interest in the Jews; is manifested by the letter addressed to Lord Eothschild by the Eight Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, dated November 2, 1917, which has been published in the Press."

ANGLO-JEWISH ASSOCIATION.

At a special meeting of the Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association il w:!, s resolved:

"That the Coancil of the Anglo-Jewish Association desires to convey its grateful thanks to His Majesty's Gr'werument for its sympathetic interest in the Jews, as manifested by the letter of the Eight Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, dated November 2, 1917, addressed to Lord Eothsphild, and published in the Press."

THE OEDEE OF B'NAI B'EITH.

At a meeting of the London Lodge of the Order the following resolution was adopted:

"That the First Lodge of England of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant) conveys to His Majesty's Government an expression of heartfelt gratitude for their Declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action has been received with profound appreciation by all sections of the Jewish community as this crowning evidence of the goodwill entertained by Britain towards the Jewish people."

In addition to the resolutions adopted by tlie foregoing leading organisations, resolutions in:: sim. ilar strain have been passed by a very large number of Jewish Communal Councils, Cohgregational Committees, Literary Societies, Friendly Benefit Societies, 10 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

Trade Unions, etc., in all parts of tl; e United Kingdom.

EUSSIA.

G reetings on the occa. sion of the Declaration of the British Governnieut supporting the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine arrived at Zionist headquarters in Petrograd frora all parts of the country. The council of the Jewish community in Moscoav, which has beeii elected for the first time on the basis of universal suffrage, cariied, at an extraordinary meeting, a resolution in wlucli they regarded it as their joyful duty to hail tlie initiative of the British Government,; ind expressed their firm

conviction that the British Government's Declaration would call forth a most lively response, as well as the greatest effort on the part of, the whole of Jewry.

GEEECE.

The publication by the Press of Athens of the Declaration made b' irr. Balfour aroused the utmost enthusiasm among the Jews of Greece. Dr. Coffinas, who is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, paid a visit t(i Lord Granville, the British Minister, to convey the oratitude of his co-reli; ionists to that nation whom a Divine mission had inspired to deliver the holy places from the yoke of barbarians.

MM. David Florentin and Joseph Usiel, on behalf of the Zionist Societies and the entire Jewish population of Salonika, sent the following telegram to Dr. Weizmann and M. N. Sokolow:

"Foi-tified in the millenary hope for the national resurrection, consecjuent on the deliverance of

Jerusalem ai;;! the whole of Southern Palestine, v. e beg- you to convey to the Gov'ernment of His Britaunic Majesty our profound gratitu(leg. for its historic Declaration concerning the restoration of our people on its ancestral soil, and our most ardent wishes for the decisive triumph of the English and Allied arms, and the realisation, without restrictions, of the noble promises that the British Government has matle to the Zionist Ovi-anisation of which you are in England the valiant champions."

MOKOCCO.

Eepresentative Jewisl. residents of Tangier expressed qn behalf of the Avhdle Jewish population of Mi. irocco their highest aippreciation and heartfelt gratitude for the action of the British Grovernment in Palestine. The Jews of Morocco, they said, were only lately freed from the political and social disadvantages under which they had lived, and the promise of the British (jo'ernment awakened new religious hopes and u. spirations among that long-sufivring and worthy people.

VIEWS OF JEWISH LEADERS, In addition to the vievss expressed by Jewish leaders reported in this pamphlet, the following opinions have been declared:

Dr. Jeciiiel Tchj. enow, Vicc-Preddent, Executive Comiiiutee of I he Zioiiid Organisation.

The Declaration of His Majesty's Government has changed the aspect of our movement. We have 12 GREAT BBITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

now the promise of (xreat Britainthat traditional friend of small nationsto nse its best endeavours to assist us in the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The world's history, and in pai-ticular Jewish history, will inscribe in its pages this deed in letters of gold.

The Kight Hon. Herbert Samuel, M. P.

I rejoice wholeheartedly in the pronouncement that has been made by the British Government wnth respect to Palestine. I support the policy because it will furnish to the genius of the Jewish race an opportunit' of again giving to mankind a brilliant and distinctive civilisation, and secondly for the sake of the ennobling influence on the millions of the Jewish proletariat who must continue to remain scattered throughout the countries of the world, which a successful Jewish Palestine could not fail to exercise.

The Eight Hon. The Lord Eothschild, F. E. S.

I consider that the Declaration is the most important pronuncianiento yet made, as it is the first recognition by a Great Power of the real status of the Jewish people, and that it ought therefore to find a wholehearted support from all Jews. I also consider it not only the first step tov'ards restoring Palestine to its ancient prosperity, but also the fii'st step in constructive policy necessitated by the war and its inevitable aftermath of necessary changes iind reconstruction.

The Eight Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, Bart., M. P.,

First Coiiuidssioiier of Works.

The establishment in their old land, under the tegis of the British Government, of a home whnre the Jewish people will be at liberty to develop their national genius and freely to exercise their virtues of industry, thrift, and organisation in their own way marks an epoch in the world's history. The development in recent years of the Jewish colonies in Palestine, whose success under the most unfavourable and depressing conditions has been phenomenal, has always deeply impressed me, and gives assurance of still greater su. ccess in the future. There are some who seem to think that the policy adopted is likely to dam. age the position of those Jews and there must be many millions of them throagh-out the worldwho will remain, as in the past, identified with and loyal an I pitriofcic citizens of th? countries of their birth and residence, and that the establishment of a national home in Palestine will, in particular, prejudice British Jews in the eyes of their fellow-citizens. I do not share and never have shared their view. In my opinion quite the reverse will be the case. The dignity and importance of our whole race will be enhanced by the existence of a national home where those of our people who have been compelled to live under less favourable conditions than we enjoy will be able to establish themselves on the soil of their ancestors.

Mr. ISTath. n Straus, Nav York.

My heartfelt congratulations upon the announcement of His Majesty's Government, made by Mr. Balfour. American Jews are deeply moved by the good tidings; before our countries and their AUies lies the task of winning the war foi- liberation and justice and the sanctity of international relations, to 14 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND TEE JEWS.

the end that the sacreclrie? s of the right of small nations may never again he violated. This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us be glad and rejoice therein.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman Provisional Zionist Coiinnittce, Neio York.

The Declaration has transferred Zionism from the field of national aspirations to the realm of political fact, Not in centuries has any word been spoken of equally vital consequence to the well-being of Israel.

Two things may be assumed on the basis of the historic uttei'ance of the British Minister of Foreign Affairs: the one that Britain is not acting alone. It is not for us to predicate that England has spoken and acted in concert with her Allies, but we are justified in believing that England, ever working in closest co-operation with her Allies in the War, will in the day of peace find herself not only supported by France and Italy, Ijut above all by the American Grovernment and people, which, under the leadership of President Wilson, muist needs insist that the destruction of the Prussian ideal must be followed by the establishment and maintenance of the integrity of the

lesser nations. The other fact that is hound ine'itably with the Declaration of the British Cabinet is that it is to be taken for granted that opposition to Zionism is ended.

Jud(ie Julian W. M.-vck, CJiicago.

American Jews, citizens of this great Republic, and owing' to it their sole and undivided allegiance and loyalty, rejoice with the Jews of all countries that the British Grovernment has issued this epoch-making Declaration.

The dreams and prayers of twenty centuries, embodied in the famous Basle Zionist declaration that Palestine may again become the homeland of the Jewish people, secured and recognised as such by the law of the nations, is approaching realisation.

Mr. AnolPH Kraus, President Inde2endent Order B'nai B'rifh, U. S. A.

The Declaration by the British Grovernment that it is ready to support the establishment of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine gains additional significance by reason of the progress which the British Forces are making in Palestine. The declaration must have the effect of gaining for the Zionist cause the support of even such Jews as have hitherto been indifferent or opposed to the movement, for no Jew can consistently oppose the establishment of a Jewish homeland, be it ever so small.

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS.

THE GEEAT THANKSGIVING MEETING AT THE LONDON OPEEA HOUSE.

The greatest and most imposing public meeting over held in the history of British Jewry was that which took place on Sunday, December 2, 1917, at the London Opera House, for the purpose of thanking the 16 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS

British G-ovemment for its declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. The building was crowded with an enthusiastic audience representative of idl sections of the Anglo-Jewish community. Delegates were present fi'om nearly all Jewish congregations, organisations, institutions, and societies in the United Kingdon). The chair was taken by Lord Eothsohild.

Lor) RoihSCiiilD said they were met on the most momentous occasion in the history of Judaism for the last IboO years. They were there to return thanks to His Majesty's Government for a Declaration which marked an epoch in Jewish history of outstanding importance. For the first time since the Dispersion the Jewish people had received its proper status by the Declaration of one of the Great Powers. The Declaration, while acknowledging and approving of the aspirations of the Jewish people for a national home, at the same time placed Jews on their honour to respect the rights and privileges not only of their prospective non-Jewish neighbours in Palestine, but also of those of their own people who did not see eye to eye with the Zionist cause. Feeling as he did that the aims of Zionism wei'e in no way incompatible with the highest patriotism and loyal citizenship of the Jews in the various countries in which they were dwelling, he would like the meeting in passing the resolution which would be submitted to them to assure the Government that they would, one and all, faith-full v observe both the spirit and the letter of their gracious Declaration. (Cheers.) He felt sure that the principal aim of the Zionists was to provide a national home for those portions of the Jewish people who wished to escape the possibilities in the future of such oppression and ill-treatment as they had endured in the past and lie therefore held that all and every

section of onnion in the Jewish people eould work together for the establishment in Palestine of such a home, so as to make it a triumphant success.

Lord Eothschild then moved the fouowino-resolution:

"That this mass meeting, representing all sections of the Jewish community in the United Kingdom, conveys to His Majesty's Grovernment an expression of heartfelt gratitude for their Declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. It assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action in support of the national aspirations of the Jewish people has evoked among Jews the most profound sentiments of joy. This meeting further pledges its utmost endeavours to give its whole-hearted support to the Zionist cause."

Lord Eobkrt Cecil, K. C, M. P., who was received with loud cheering, said: I have come here with the greatest possible pleasure at the request of those who represent, or who have led the representation of the Zionist movement of this country, to offer to you and to all Zionists my hearty congratulations on the event which you are celebrating to-day. (Cheers.) And perhaps you will allow me to mention in connection with th-se congratulations, not only your Chairman, but also M. Nahum Sokolow and l)r. C. Weizmann, who liave done so much for the cause that we all have at heart this afternoon. Surely all of us must feel what a very striking gathering the present one is. The keynote of our meeting this afternoon is liberation. (Cheers.) We welcome among us not only the many thousands of Jews that I see, but also representaties of the Arabian and Armenian races who are also in this great struggle struggling to be free. (Hear, hear.) Our wish is 18 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

that Arabi; m countries shall be for the Arabs, Ai-meuia for the Arnu'uiaus, and Judaea for the Jews. (Applause.) Yes, and let us add, if it can be so, let Turkey, real Turkey, be for the Turks.

I should like to be allowed to say that the part that this country is taking in this movement is not a new thing. (Hear, hear.) I venture to claim for this country that in supporting Zionism it has been merely carrying out its traditional jjolicy. To me, at any rate, it seems that there are two great foundations upon which the policy of this country has always been based. I believe they are often described by the two words " Liberty " and " Justice." Perhaps more a'curately they ma' be called the supremacy of the Law and Liberty, for, be well assured, if we are ever to obtain that security which we have been recently told is so important to us, if we are ever to Lift European civilisation and national relations in Europe out of the anarchy in which they at present are, it must be by the same means by which we have secured liberty and happiness in each country, namely, by the supremacy of Law.

As for the second foundation of which I have spoken, and which has more practical bearing on our proceedings this afternoon, may I say this: We hear a great deal of a new word, "Self-delermination." Well, I don't know that it is a new thing. It certainly is not new in the British Empire. The Empire has always striaen to give to all the peoples that make it up the fullest measure of self-government of which they are capable. (Hear, hear.) We have always striven to give to all peoples within our bounds complete libeity and equality before the Law. (Hear, hear.) We are adjured to respect the principle of self-determination; but I say that the British Empire was the first organisation to teach that principle to the world, and one of the great causes for

which we are in this war is to secure to all peoples the right to govern tbe; iiselvcs and to work out their owa destiny, irrespective of the threats and menaces of their greater neighbour. (Hear, hear.)

One of the great stepsin my judgment, in some ways the greatest stepwe have taken in carrying out this principle is the recognition of Zionism. This is the first constructive effort that we have made in what I hope will he the new settlement of the world after the war. (Cheers.) I do not say that that is the only thing involved It is not only tlie recognition of a nationalityit is much more than that. It has great underlying ideals of which ou will hear this afternoon and of which it would be impertinent of me to speak. It is, indeed, not the birth of a nation, for the Jewish nation through centuries of oppression and captivity have preserved their sentiment of nationality as few people conld; but if it is not the birth of a nation, I believe we may say it is the re-birth of a nation. (Applause.) I don't like to prophesy what ultimate results that great event may have, but for myself I believe it will have a far-reaching influence on the history of the world and consequences which none can foresee on the future history of the human race. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Herbert Samuel, M. P., who received an enthusiastic welcome, said: I rejoice wholeheartedly in the pronouncement that has been made by the British Government with respect to Palestine. It is a policy which for nearly three years I have urged in the Cabinet and out of the Cabinet at every opportunity that arose. (Cheers.) The fears and the doubts which this policy has evoked are, I firmly believe, unfounded. Three conditions must indeed be observed in any new developments that may take place in Palestine. In the first place, there must be full, just recognition of the rights of the 20 QJteAr BTtltAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEW.

Ar; il)s, who iiiv constitute the majority of the population of tliat country. Secondly, there must be a reverent respect for the Cliristian and Mohammedan holy places, which in all eventualities should always remain in the control and charge of representatives of those faiths. (Cheers.) In the third place, there must be no attempt now or in the future to establish anything in the nature of political authority from Palestine over the Jew scattered in other countries of the world, who must probably always remain the great majority of the Jewish race. There should be no disturbance, large or small, direct or indirect, in their national status or in their national rights and duties in thu countries of which they are, or should be, full and equal citizens. On all these matters there is no divergence of opinion in any quarter, and the controversies that have taken place, I venture to think, are disputes over differences that do not exist.

The reason why, for my own part, I support the policy which we are here to-day to approve and celebrate are chief!" these. First, it may be that the genius of the Jewish race will again be able to give to the world a brilliant and distinctive civilisation. (Cheers.) The richness of mankind lies in its diversity. We do not want the world to be like some great library, consisting of nothing but innumerable copies of one and the same book. The Jewish mind is a distinctive thing. It combines in remarkable degree the imaginative and the practical, the ideal and the positive. This combination of qualities enabled it for 1500 years in Palestine to produce an almost unbroken series of statesmen and soldiers, judges and poets, prophets and seersthinkers and leaders who have left for all time their impress upon the world. The Jewi. sh mind

is tenacious and persists, and now, when all the jjowerful Empires that overran that land have been cnerthrown and almost forgotten, the Jewish people exists and is more numerous to-duy than it ever has Ijeen at any period of its history. Who. knows, I say, Lut that if again it iinds a s2: iritual centre of its own, soundly based on an industi-ioiis population, untrammelled, self-contained, inspired by the memories of a S2jlendid past, it may again produce golden fruits in tlie iields of intellect for the enrichment of the whole world. (Cheers.)

And my other reason is this; If this comes to be, what a helpful effect it would have upon the Jewish proletariat that will still remain scattered in other countries of the world! I see in my mind's eye those millions in Eastern Europe all through the centuries, crowded, cramped, proscribed, bent with oppression, suffering all the miseries of active minds denied scope, of talent not allowed to speak, of genius that cannot act. I see them enduring, suffering everything, sacrificing everything in order to keep alight the flame of which they knew themselves to be the lamp, to keep alive the idea of which they knew themselves to be the vessel, to preserve the soul of which they knew themselves to be the body; their eyes always set upon one distant point, always believing that somehow, some day, the ancient greatness would be restored; always saying when they met in their families on Passover Night, "Next year in Jerusalem." Year after year, generation following generation, century succeeding century, till the time that has elapsed is counted in thousands of years, stiu they said, "Next year in Jerusalem." If that cherished vision is at last to be realised, if on the Hills of Zion a Jewish civilisation is restored with something of its old intellectual and moral force, then among those left in the other countries of the world I can see growing a new confidence and a new greatness. There will be a fresh light in those eyes, those bent backs will at last stand erect, there will be a greater dignity in the Jew throughout the world. (Cheers.) 22 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

That is why we meet to-day to thank the British Government, our own Government(cheers)that has made all this possible, that we shall be able to say, not as a pious and distant wish, but as a near and confident hope, "Next year in Jerusalem " `mu nxan niwb (Loud and prolonged cheers).

Colonel Sir Mauk Svkes said:

When one thinks of the years that have passed, of the immense spaces of history which stand between what was and now is promised to-day, truly one is dazzledone is dazzled by the possibility of the prospects which open before us. I say 1 am speaking to vou as a watcher, but you in a sense perhaps also are watchers; perhaps you see as I see an Asia stricken with plagues and cumbered with ruins and a Europe a welter of blood. Perhaps you too see those two things, and I pray that you realise that it may be your destiny to be the bridge between Asia and Europe; to bring the spirituality of Asia to Europe and the vitality of Europe to Asia. I firmly believe that is the mission of Zionism. I see here something which is greater than the dream even of a LeaoTie of Nations, which is a dream of a League of Kaces and finally a League of Ideals. There is the great vision; that is what may, that is what does, I believe, lie before you.

But no person realises more than I doi know the ground, some of it, and boldly I dare to say tliat there lie before you dangers, difficulties, and possible obstructions; but, ladies and gentlemen, your time of probation has been long. You are schooled in

adversity; you can look on difficulties with calm, and you will overcome them. I do not look for a sudden magic transformation. No; but I believe that vou are beginning a great and beneficial and irresistible transition. That is what you are beginning.

Now, r l)eliee, 30U are going to set up a powtt which is not a domination of blood or a domination of gold, but a domination of intellectual force. I believe you will sec in Palestine a great centre of ideals radiating out to every country in the world where your people are. And if there is one thing that gives me great 'leasure here to-day it is to feel that youat this turning-point in your history, when the Government made its Declaration you thought not only of urselves, but you thought alsoand afterwards you will look back with joy on the factwhen the hope of redemption was held out to you, you thought not only of yourselves but also of your fellows in adversity, the Armenians and the Arabs.

The Chief Rabbi said it was indeed a rare privilege to take part in that wonderful meeting called together to express the heartfelt thanks of British Jewry for the striking sympathy of His Majesty's Government with Jewish aspirations. The epoch-making Declaration on Palestine was an assurance given by the mightiest of empires that the new order which the Allies are now creating at such sacrifice of life and treasure shall be rooted in righteousness, and broad-based on the liberty of and reverence for eieri oppressed nationality. It was a solemn pledge that the oldest of national tragedies shall be ended in the coming re-adjustment of the nations which shall console mankind for the slaughter and waste and torment of this terrible world-war. In the face of an event of such infinite importance to the Jewish people, ordinary words of appreciation or the usual phrases of gratitude were hopelessly weak and inadequate. For the interpretation of their true feelings to-day they must turn to Scripture. Twenty-five hundred years ago Cyrus issued his edict of liberation to the Jewish exiles in Babylon; and an eye-witness of that glorious day had left them in the 24 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

I;2(5th Ps; ilm a record of how tii? ir fathers received the announcement of their deliverance, "When the Lord hrought back those that returned to Zion" a'Dism i3"n" we were like unto them that dream. Then said they among the nations: ' The Lord hath done great things for them." The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad." Theirs was a similar feeling of joy and wonder. With them likewise it was the astonishment of the nations, the reassuring approbation of statesmen and rulers that caused them to exclaim: " We will see it done, and done consummately, the thing so many have thought could never be done! " (Cheers.) The spirit of the Declaration was that of absolute justice, whether to Jews out of Palestine or to non-Jews in Palestine. They especially welcomed in it the reference to the civil and relisfious rights of the existingc non-Jewish communities in Palestine. That was but a translation of the basic principle of the Mosaic legislation. (Cheers.) But it was the substance of the Deolarat'on the promise of a national home for the Jewish peoplethat filled their souls with gladness. For only on its own soil could the Jewish people live its own life and make, as in the past it had made, its characteristic and specific contributions to the spiritual treasure of humanity. After the proclamation issued by Cyrus, the mass of the Jewish people still remained in Babylon. All told, only-1.2,000 men, women, and children took advantage of the King's proclamation

and followed Ezra back to Zion, the land of their fathers. But that handful of Zionists and their descendants, because living on their own soil, changed the entire future of mankind. They. edited and collected the Prophets, wrote some of the fairest portions of the Scriptures, formed the canon of the Bible, and gave the world its monotheistic religions. (Cheers.) Now, as then, only " a remnant shall return"aib"-v. z. But now, as then, it was the national rejuvenation of that remnant that is to open a new chapter in tlie annals of the. human spirit. Difficulties? Of course there were difficulties. The task of laying the foundations of a new Israel must be one of long toil and severe trial. But a people that for twenty-five centuries had stood victoriously against the storm of time possessed vitality enough, patience enough, idealism enough, with the help of Grod, to rise to the level of this unique, world-historic opportunity. (Loud cheers.) 1)r. M. (taster said that he stood before them as an old friend, deeply imbued with the spirit of faith, a dreamer of Ansions, if they would. What appeared to so many as a dream had now become a reality(cheers)and they were gathered there to begin to reap in joy what they had sown in tears and sorrow. It was for all of them a day of joy to see the fruits which they had so long wished for. Tliey had come together to thank the British Government for their Declaration of sympathy with their national aspirations. Therein lay the greatness of the British Government, that it had lifted the problem from its local geographical character and given to it that universally valued importance which they attached to it. What they wished to obtain in Palestine was not merely a right to establish colonies, or educational, cultured, or industrial institutions. Tiiey wanted to establish in Palestine an autonomous Jewish Commonwealth in the fullest sense of the word. They wanted Palestine to be Palestine of the Jews and not merely a Palestine for Jews. They wished the land to be again what it was in olden times and what it had been for Jews in their prayers and in their Biblea land of Israel. The ground must be theirs. (Cheers.) Tliey stood indeed as a people-for the same programme as British statesmen were standing to-day in a larger sphere. Jews stood for reparation, 26 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

restitution, and guarantees(cheers)and it was in the very application of those principles that the greatness and importance of the Declaration of the British Government stood out so luminously. England owed to Jews no reparation. Here they had liberty, full freedom, eqiiality of right and equality of duty, and they had risen to the responsibility which had thus been placed upon them. For many of them there had their children now fighting the battles of England.

But the British Grovernment had now made itself the champion of reparation to the Jewish people for the wrongs done to them by the world. It had made itself a champion too of the restitution of the land to our nation, for whom it is the old inheritafice, and it had given them a guaranteesecurity of tenure, independence, of right and freedom of action as a people in their ancient land. The establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in the land of their fathers would also consolidate and clarify tlie position of the rest of the Jews throughout the world. (Hear, hear.) He believed that a new world was to arise in which the Jew, as Jew, would find himself a free man.

In conclusion, he reminded them of an old legend which told that when the Temple was destroyed the stones split into splinters and each one entered the heart of a Jew. It was this memorial of our fallen nation which the Jew carried in his bosom and which

lent his back. But they were coming together once again as a nation in Palestine, and they would take the splinters of the stones from out of their hearts " and," exclaimed Dr. Graster, "I feel the stone in my heart already loosening." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Shark Ism. il Abdul-.4l-Akki then addressed the meeting. He spoke in Arabic, and his speech was translated by Mr. I. Sieff, who mentioned that the speaker was under sentence of death by the Turkish Government for having joined the Arab national movement. Shahk Ismail said he desired to tender deep gratitude to the British nation and the British Grovemment for affording his countrymen and himself help and asylum in their hour of jiersecution. His country was held in chains by the Turks, who were supplied with (merman gold, and he looked with confidence to England and France to deliver them from bondage, as he believe I in the ultimate good over evil, and was confident in the victory of the Allies. He not only spoke as an Arab, but as a "Moslem" Arab, having studied five years in Theological Schools and being granted a Degree, and it was the duty of every Moslem to participate in the movement for the liberation of their countrymen. The meeting was to celebrate the great act of the British Government in recognising the aspirations of the Jewish people, and he appealed to them not to forget in the days of their happiness that the sons of Ishmael suffered also. They had been scattered and confounded as the Jews had been, and now began to arise, fortified with the sense of martyrs. He hoped that Palestine would again flow with milk and honey. (Cheers.)

M. Wadia Kesrawani, a Syrian Christian, spoke in French, also to the effect that his countrymen appealed to England and France for their liberation, and applauded the Declaration of the Government.

Mr. Israel Zangwill, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers said: In my capacity of President of the Jewish Territorial Organisation I have been honoured with an invitation to appear on your platform on this momentous occasion. In that capacity I have often criticised your leaders. But to-day I am here not for 28 GREAT BRITAIN, PALBSTIXE AND THE JEWS.

criticism but for congratulation and co-operation. I congratulate tliem, and especially Dr. Weizmann and M. Sokolow, npon theii- historic acliievement in the region of diplomacy. To see that this is followed by a similar achievement in the more difficult region of practice is the duty of all Israel.

But I do not come to the (xoNcrnment, as Lord Morley tells us the Kaiser came to him, with mock salaams and marks of Oriental obeisance, for J have k.)ng maintained that after a war for liberty and the rights of small nations this very rejaration was due to that unhappy, scattered and divided people which has bled and suffered with all the belligerents. And as an English-born citizen I am proud that my couutr' by this pro-Jewish manifesto has wiped out the stain of her alliance with the fallen Pharaoh. But whatever the general Jewish gratitude for this extension of the principles of nationalities, the Jews in Turkey and other now enemy countries are as loyal to their fatherland as we are to ours, and we who stand here can have no claim to pledge the race to any Power or Powers. All we can say is that happily the vast majority are concentrated in those Allied and democratic countries with which they are in natural affinity. Particularly close is their affinity with the English. But it is not surprising that

the nation whose noble version of our Scriptures has made the Bible almost a British possession should A'ibrate to Jewish national aspirations.

From the first the formula of the Ito has run, "To procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews Avho cannot, or will not, remain in the lands in which they at present live." For those and for those only. Not for those who can or will remain in their present lands. With these there may be a spiritual connection, thei-e cannot be a political. And to-day, when, to quote your great leader. Max Nordau, "the period of rhetoric is over, the horn" of deeds is approaching," I am glad to have the assxirance of the Zionist leaders here that tliey unreservedly accept the (iovernment's stipulation that " nothing shall be done which might prejudice tlie rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Once Zionism is established on this sound basis, not only does its formula become identical with the Ito's, but I can see no reason why all Israel should not co-operate with both organisations in developing Palestine as a Jewish national home for those Jews who can or will go there. To diminisli the risks of confusion, let Palestine be called what Lord Robert Cecil called it, Judsea, and let the Jews who adopt its citizenship be called Judseans. Then all the others will remain a. before, Jewsjews of whatever political allegiance they choose. A national home in Palestinefreedom and equal rights everywhere else; here surely is a platform that can unite all Isra'J, and, so far as I can see, it is uniting them.

I do not say that this autonomy must come at a bound. Though in my opinion the boldest way is always the best way and responsibility is a people's best educator, yet I am prepared to make all possible concess'ons to circumstances and history. But unless the Palestine colonisation is so planned that it must eventually produce the national autonomous home I for one wiu not devote my limited strength to such a mockery of Jewish aspirations. The times are too serious and tragic for such trifling. Mount Zion is in labour. Shall it produce a mouse? No, it must produce a lionthe lion of Judah.

Seven crusades to the Holy Land have all meant massacre for the Jews; if the eighth crusade is to HKan Palestine for the Jews, if it is to be truly a Christian crusade, then that very fact is a proof of a new world-order of love and justice. Let us Jews, the people of Isaiah, at such a turning-point in history, make a great act of faith, and, instead of disavowing 30 GREAT BBITAIN, PALESTTKE AND THE JEWS.

the brotherhood of Israel,, let us proclaim from our Jerusalem centre the brotherhood of man.

But tills spiritual work is not all that calls to us. Palestine is a place full of stones and fever. It is a land whose main bulk lies almost as desolate as the plains of Flandersruined not by German war, but by Turkish peace, by centuries of neglect and mis-o-overnment. With the depletion of the world's resources, and esjecially of the world's man-power, by this terrible war, Avho is to win this country for civilisation if not we Jews? Even if we had no historic connection with it, that would be a worthy mission for a people. Let m; appeal therefore to the British Jews to work with us and to work loyally. For even at the best the goal is far. Palestine is not yet ours, and even when it is, our work, despite the pioneers we shall always honourdespite even! aron Edmond de Rothschildwill only begin. Already under the regis of England our young men liave died there. But eagerly as our young men have sacrificed themselves

in Palestine for war, still more eager' will they offer themselves there for the labom's and sacrifices of peace. That will be the true Jewish Regiment.

And thougli our goal be ye!; far, and though we may not rejoice, yet already when I recall how our small nation sustained the mailed might of all the great empires of antiquity; how we saw our Temple in fianies and were scattered like its ashes; how we endured the long night of the Middle Ages, illumined by the glare of our martyrs' fires; how but yesterday we wandered in our millions, torn between the ruthless Prussian and the pitiless Russian, yet have lived to see to-day the bloody Empire of the Czars dissolve and the mountanis of Zion glimmer on the 'horizon, already I feel we may say to tlie other nations: " Comfort ye, comfort ye, too, poor suffering peoples. Learn from the long patience of Israel that the spirit is mightier than the sword, and that the seer who foretold his people's resurrection was not less proplietic when he proclaimed also for all peoples the pi-ace of Jerusalem." (Loud cheers.)

M. H. N. MostDitcniaN, a member of the Ai-menian Delegation, said lie availed himself of the opportunity of giving their Jewish brethren the heartiest greetings of the Armenians(cheers)and sincerest congratulations for the dawn about to break upon the glad valleys of their ancestral land. He made a comparison of the two nations who had gone through the same persecutions, but who, notwithstanding, were not willing to die, and had not died (cheers)and who stood to-day hnnd-in-hand on the eve of a new era, when both of them would be able to live once more their national lives, of which they had given good evidence in the p)ast. They all knew that Armenia was one of the first countries mentioned in the history of the Jews, and there had reigned one thousand two hundred years ago a dynasty of Armenian kings who had in their veins a good deal of Jewish blood. After the loss of their independence the Jews had continued to live a life of captivity and exile, and the Armenians, after the loss of their independence, had suffered the same exile. It was not the time to say what the Armenians had suffered during the last three yearsa state of things to which the wor. t pogrom was a heaven; but tbey, as well as the Jews, looked towards "to-morrow" with great fervour as a result of the Declaration. They had waited long enough with their Jewish brethren, for centui-ies and centuries, and these two nations as vell as the Arabs would make Palestine another Promised Land and a Garden of Edena centre to which humanity might look up. (Cheers.)

Mr. ISFaiium Sokolow said that the Zionist Organisation felt the deepest and keenest, satisfaction at the 32 GlfeAT BBITATN, PALESTINE AND TBE JEWS.

Declaration of His Majesty's Government. He had the honour to make the following- declaration to the Arabs: " Relations between Jews and Arabs had hitherto been scanty and spasmodic, largely owing to mutual ignorance and indifference. There were no relations whatever between tlie two nations as such, because the oj)pressive Power did not recognise either of them, and whenever points of connection began to develop they were destroyed by intrigue, to the detriment of both nationalities. We believe that the present hour of crisis and the opening of a laxge perspective for epoch-making developments offers a fruitful opportunity for a broad basis of permanent cordial relations between two peoples who are inspired by a common purpose. We mean a real entenie cordtah between Jews, Arabs, and Armenians, such an entenie cordiale having already been accepted in principle by leading representatives of these

three nations. From such a beginning we look forward with confidence to a future of intellectual, social, and economic co-operation; we are one with the Arabs and Armenians to-day in the determination to secure for each of us the free choice of our own destinies. We look with fraternal love at the creation of the Arab kingdom, re-establishing Semitic nationality in its glory and freedom, and our heai'tiest wishes go out to the noble, hardly-tried Armenian nationality for the realisation of their national hopes in their old Armenia. Our roots were united in the)ast, our destinies will be bound together in tlie future." That was their declaration to their future neighbours. (Cheers.)

Captain The Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, M. P., said:

As a British subject who has no Jewish connections I stand here this afternoon the personal friend of the Zionist leaders, one who has seen tlieir work during the past year, both here and in Egypt, and I wisli to congrauilate tliem upon their success and join with them in thanking the British Government on the occasion of what I regard as a real epoch-making advance in civilisation. It was, I think, just about a year ago that 1 first came into contact with the Zionist movement in its practical form, when I was brought into close official contact with the Palestine refugees in Egypt. And from meeting them 1 learned that the Jews were already, and have been during the past forty years, endeavouring to bring idealism into that stricken land. The raore one saw of Turkish rule, more particularly the rule since the deposition of Caliph Abdul Hamid by the Young Turks, the more one saw there was no hope for Zionism, for liberty, for fair dealing, even in such a matter as taxation, no hope for progressive agriculture, unless Palestine were delivered from the thraldom of alien rule. I am particularly glad that this Declaration has been made by the British Government at a moment when British arms are delivering that land, because it shows that Britain is not'out for gain for herself, but is out in a greater spirit for the ideal of freedom, of self-development, and nationality.

The Jewish claim to Palestine is in my mind overwhelming, and, as a British Member of Parliament, J rejoice to see from the new number of the Zionist Review what an overwhelming mass of British representative opinion, as reflected in the House to which T belong, is in support of this movement. One other reason for which I support this movement: I support it as a member of the Church of Eiigland. Sir Mark Sykes has spoken as a Eoman Catholic principally. I am a communicant of the Church of England, and in this return to Palestine to be the Jewish home I hold out the hand of friendship to the Zionists who seek to bring that into effect, and I feel that behind it there is the finger of Almighty God. Another thing 34 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

I should like to say and tliat is that from the moment that I met the Zionist leaders, whether iu Egypt or in this countryfrom the moment of my first introduction to them I felt that there was something so sincere, something so, I should call it, Britishso striking that at once my heart went out to them, and I say this, that you have as your leader in this country in Dr. Weizmanu a personality and a statesman who has shown those great qualities of patience, of skill, of determination, and of intellect which have endeared him to everyone who has come across him. I have lone what little I can to

help forward this movement whenever I have had the opportunity. In the future if you are looking out for friends you may count ine as one of them. (Cheers.)

Mr. James de Rothschild, who was received with great enthusiasm, said he stood there as the son of one who had spent his life in endeavouring to hring about what they were celebrating that day. Jewish ideals up to that time had been met at the gate, but they could not get through. With one stroke of the pen the English (government had flung open those gates. Therefore in every Jewish heart gi-atitude was overflowing, and they must not forget that all then-aims of the future had been strengthened by the country whose Government had framed the generous and just Declaration. (Cheers.)

Dr. C. Weizmann, President of the English Zionist Federation, upon rising, received a great ovation. He referred to the many good and brilliant words which had been said about the Jews, and he hoped that the Jews of to-day and the Jews of to-morrow would rise to the occasion in the needed power and the dignity, and give their answer to the great resolution, not only in words, but in deeds. The present generation had upon its shoulders the greatest responsibility of the last 2000 years, and he prayed that they niie-ht be worthy of that responsibility.

He then called upon the meeting to rise, and with hands uplifted to take the old historic oatheach man and woman of themlyo' nacn D'jcn' iny'n dk (" If I forget thee, 0 Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its power").

The meeting rose en masse, repeating the words of the psalm amid great enthusiasm, which culminated in the singing of " Hatikvah " and " Grod Save the King " by the Precentors' Association.

OYERFLOW MEETIN.

An overflow meeting, over which Mr. P. Horowitz presided, was held in the Kingsway Theatre, which was crowded in every part. Among those who addressed the audience were the Chief Eabbi, Lord Lamington, Mr. I. Zangwill, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Dr. Selig Brodetsky, Dr. D. Jochelman, and Mr. Israel Cohen.

A resolution in identical terms with that carried at the London Opera House was passed with much enthusiasm.

THE DEMONSTEATION" IN MANCHESTEE.

A striking demonstration was held on Sunday, December 9, 1917, in the Manchester Hippodrome, which was crowded with an enthusiastic audience. Sir Stuart M. Samuel, Bart., President of the Jewish Board of Deputies, presided, supporte3 by all the leading Jewish representatives of Manchester and the neighbouring towns and by a large number of influential non-Jewish citizens, including the Lord Mayor of Manchester and the Mayor of Salford. The proceedings began with the reading by Mr. Leon, the 35 GHEAT Bi; itAlr, PALESTINE AND THE JIHWS.

lionorary secretary, of letters from Lord Rothschild, Lord Eobert Cecil, llv. Herbert Samuel, M. P., the Chief Eabbi, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M. P.

Mr. Henderson wrote:

By its Declaration in favour of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, till' British (ion'ernment has vindicated the democratic claim that this is a war of liberation in which oppressed nationalities will find deliverance. The British Labour movement has included among its war aims a demand that the Jews of all countries, great and small, shall enjoy the rare elementary rights of tolerance,

freedom of residence and travel, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation; and it has also declared its belief that it would be practicable by agreement among all the nations to set Palestine free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that the country may form a Free Slate, under international guarantee, where the Jewdsh 2)eople may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race and religion. To this policy the British Government and people are now solemnly pledged.

Sir Stuart M. Samuel, in rising to speak, had an enthusiastic reception. Looking towards the Chanucah light just kindled, he said:

My Lord Mayor, this candle has been lighted in Jewish homes for the last 2,000 years, and represents the undying flame of hopethe characteristic of the Jewish people in those long years when they never lost the hope that one day the Divine promise might be fulfilled before their eyes.

Continuing, Sir Stuart Samuel said that, with regard to the Declaration of the Government, he thought it was far easier to return

Palestine to the Jews than for tlie Jews to return to Palestine. (Laugliter.) Jews to be succetsful in Palestine must bo united; not only in this country, but throughout the world should they present a united front, for united they were strong. He appealed to all to sink their own views for the common good. The welfare of their brother-Jews must be the idea that should permeate them all. Small ideas must vanish for the welfare of the whole. After centuries of waiting progress must be gradual; one could not gamble when the fate of a people was at stake. No large influx of population must go forth to Palestine tul it was prepared to receive them. Jews must gi'e the same religious freedom to others as they themselves expected. They should hold out a helping hand to other nations who had suffered; firstly, to the Armenians, and to a less extent the Arabs as fellow-partners in misfortune, and show them that Jews desired to live in peace and amity with them. Let Jews always remember that it was due to the freedom enjoyed in this blessed country, England, that they could thus hold out the hope of brotherhood. Living in England, they could realise thoroughly the gift of freedom. To sympathise deeplj, one must suffer deeply. The cities of Palestine would be as cities of refuge to the persecuted in Grod's own time and bring h-rh Qii'B'. (Loud applause.)

The Lord Mayor oi' Manchester, who received an ovation, said he spoke for the majority, perhaps the whole of his fellow-citizens, when he wished them God-speed in their movement. He had many good friends among the Jews in Manchester, and looked upon them as a very valuable part of the city life. He had, as it were, a personal interest in the Zionist movement, as he had been in Palestine and was now represented there by a son who vas in the British iirmy. The world owed a 38 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

great debt to the Jews, who had held up tliat great idea and beeu true to it through torment and torture, the idea of again acquiring the land of Palestine. He earnestly hoped that the idea woidd be realised, and it was best realised by winning this war(cheers)by destroying for ever German militarism and by crushing it with ferocity. When peace at length came then the vision of the prophet Isaiah would be realised. (Applause.)

Sill Mark Sykes said that since Mr. Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild testimony had come from millions of Jews all over the world that the mass of Je'ry was profoundly moved. Although within the two thousand years past Jewry had on occasion been moved in unison it had always before been on some matter of grief and never of joy. The war had been fruitful in negatives, but here was a great positive. For centuries there had been something amiss with civilisation. Every nation and every continent had had its Jewish problem, oppressive laws, Ghettos, Pales; here Jews were proscribed and evicted, there tolerated and assimilated, and between the two one did not know whether the first was not the better. The realisation of the Zionist ideal was the end of all that. Zionism would give the Jews of the world a higher position than they had ever held before. Although few might go to Palestine in proportion to those who remained without, the latter would not suffer. No British Jew would be less British because he could look at the cradle of his race with pride and at the religious centre of his faith with happiness and reverence. When the spiritual citizenship was clearly and nobly defined the civic citizenship would be higher than ever before.

But there were jjractical considerations. He regarded it as vital for the success of the Zionist plan that it should rest upon a Jewish, Armenian, and Arab enlente. The Armenian was one of an oppressed people, and until he could live his life and realise his national aspirations the Jews could have no guarantee that the tyranny which fell upon him would not fall upon them. We had been told that the Turk had tolerated the Jew. It was because in Turkey the Jews had not been a political element, and had had no agrarian population. The day that-Zionism was realised they were land-holders, and became to the Turk the same as the Bulgar, the Serb, the Grreek, the Ai'menian, the Arab. Until they had liberated the Armenians they could not be secure; they must have between themselves and their possible aggressor a stable, progressive Armenian state.

When he spoke of the Arabs he entered into no nice distinctions. He referred to those in Asia who were one in language and in blood. By environment they were called Syrians, Mesopotamians, Iosulis, Aleppines; by religion they were called Christians, Mussulmans, Druses, Mitawelis, Ansaries; in blood, there was on the male side a little infusion in Syria of the Crusader, and in Mesopotamia of Turanian and Iranian, but scientists would call these only traces. Eighty-five per cent, of the stock was Semitic. For 800 years the Arabs had been under Turkish dynnsties. Their canals of Mesopotamia had been ruined, and when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape he cut them off from European commerce. They-were bound, impoverished, divided by Turkish intrigue, and isolated by events. Were they dead? Never. " You know the Semite sleeps but never dies." (Loud cheers.) Wherever there were men of Arab stock, whether in Nigeria or Chicago, Java or Manchester, one would find progressive people who took interest in art, in literature, in philosophy, and had a high place in commerce. The Arabs of to-day had the same vitality and capacity as the Arabs who under 40 GFEAT BE I TAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

the Ommayads cavried civilisation from Damascus to Cordova in Spain, and from Basra to the wild steppes of Austral Asia; as the Abbassids who spread literature and art from Basfdad to the whole civilised world.

To-day the Arabs were pro-nationalist. They were one in blood and in tongue. There were seven or eight millions of them; they were prolific. There was a combination of man-power, virgin soil, petroleum, and brains. What was that going to produce in 1950? The inevitable result was that the seven or eight millions v, ould turn to 20 millions; the Mesopotamian canal system would be reconstructed; Syria must become the granary of Europe; Bagdad, Damascus, and Aleppo would be each as big as Manchester; universities and a gi-eat Press must arise.

Arab civilisation was coming there; no Sultan or Kaiser could prevent it, and when it came no imperialists and financiers would be able to control it. It was the destiny of the Jews to be closely connected with the Arab revival, and co-operation and goodwill fi-om the first were necessary, or ultimate disaster would overtake both Jew and Arab. Therefore he varned the Jews to look through Arab glasses. (Cries of " We wall, we will! ")

What did the Arab fear? He feared financial corporations, pivoted on Palestine, controlling Syria and Mesopotamia. He feared the soil of Palestine would be bought by companies, and that he would become a proletariat working on the soil for alien masters. He feared the Palestinian colonists might drop their colonies and drift into Syria and Mesopotamia as middlemen and crush him out of existence. It was essential that Zionists should realise and face these dangers. He dared say these things because he believed in Zionism, and knew that it was idealistic and not a financial manoeuvre. (Loud cheers.) The Arabs should understaiid that the Jews sought no land not willingly sold; that all land so purchased would only be developed through Jewish labour (loud cheers); that the colonists would be bona fide colonists, and that the Jews were out to win Palestine, not by financial manoeuvres, but by the sweat of their brow. (Prolonged cheering, many rising to their feet.) The co-operation of the two races offered such prospects to mankind; hostility would mean such an unthinkable tragedy that he felt it his duty to give the warning.

A second warning that he would offer was that Zionists should remember that Jerusalem was a triple shrine, sacred to Christian, Jew, and Moslem alike, because he as a Catholic had kissed the stone of the Holy Sepulchre and knew something of what the Moslem felt in regard to the Mosque of Omar and something of what the Jew felt when he laid his hand on the stones of the Wailing Place. Jerusalem throbbed with histo"y; it was inflammable ground, and a careless word or gesture might set half a continent aflame. Jewish policy would not be realised by diplomacy, tact, delicacy, or the virtues of the irawing-room politician. Jerusalem called for more than that. It did not call for toleration, but for sympathy, understanding, compassion, sacrifice " sympathy with the Moslem, to whom the Mosque of Omar is the most sacred spot on earth; understanding the Christian, Avho, like myself, feels that ui helping Zionism he is doing something to make a great amend. Sacrifice all sense of triumph, of old memories of ancient wrong. Approach it not in a spirit of toleration, Irat of brotherhood and affection."

He believed that, approached in the right spirit, Zionism would be the cause of a great reconciliation, not of fusion, lut good fellowship between members of three faiths of common origin. Misused it would be the beginning of bitterer strife than ever

the world had known. Timidity was the road to ruin; let them 42 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

face facts boldly. In the realisation of tlieir ideal he saw security for the world's peace. He saw them co-operating as the moral guarantors and protectors of small States, being perhaps the smallest and the greatest at the same time. He saw them healing the leligious distractions which had severed the best from the best throughout the ages. In Jerusalem there would be a great vital heart, healing the scars of Europe iind calling Asia once more back to life. (Prolonged cheers, the audience rising repeatedly.) Ir. Jamks dk KotHSciijLi) said the Briti. sli Government, re)resenting witliout any doxibt the voice of an enlightened and largi'-hearted democracy, had ratified the Zionist scheme. What was wanted from the Jewish people was no longer schemes, but deeds, and he hoped that in the near future cohorts of modern Maccabees would be fighting their way through the hills of Judaea. (Cheers.) The Jewish claim was one for justice, and that also was the basis of the claims of the Arabs and Armenians, claims wliich Jews fully endorsed and were pledged to support. Britain stood as the foster-mother of the new-born Jewish nation, and he looked forward to the day when that nation, steeled in adversity biit proud in hope, had proved itself by dint of its work to be a real daughter.

Mh. JoskPii CoweNj who was received with cheers, said the 1)eclaration was Eestoration; it was, perhaps, the one thing wliich, say 500 years hence, would be singled out as the most historic act of this world-war; it seemed so transcendentally important not only to Jews, but likewise to the world. Jews must not always be dreamers. They had already begun some pioneer work in Palestine, and in time would be proud of their colonists. On what they accomplished during the next twenty years depended the verdict of the world. He believed they '()'ild rise to the cause, their men and their women witli their heart in the good work. (Loud cheers.)

L)k. WjiizmANN, who was received witli loud and long-sustained applause, said: I desire to associate myself on behalf of the organisation which I have the honour to represent, the English Zionist Federation, with the sincere regard which is tendered by this gi eat city to His Majesty's Grovernment. As one who had the privilege of contributing somewhat to the negotiations with that Government I can realise the spirit in which this Declaration has been gi anted to us. The friendliness, the understanding of and sympathy with our cause as shown by the statesmen who rule the destinies of England, would, if it were known, be regarded as a source of the greatest comfort to Jews all over the world. Moreover, not onlv has the Grovernment granted us this Declaration, but it means to put it into effect as soon as possible. I hope that when the military position will allow it, a Commission of Zionist Jews will go out to Palestine for two great purposes. The first and immediate purpose will be to grant relief and to heal the wounds which have been produced by the devastations of war. The distress in Palestine is great, and relief is needed immediately. "We have done what we could do at present, but much more has to be done in the immediate future, and that will be one of the objects of the Commission.

The second and perhaps more difficult task will be to form plans and opinions for setting about the difficult task of colonising and rejuvenating the old country. In this mood of festivity in which you now are, I would also like to utter a word of warning.

An ancient and experienced people will prove their wisdom by restraining themselves at the right time.

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Let us all ivnieinber that the building of Palestine is A slow, gr. idiial and laborious process, which will tax iieavily our resources aud our jxitience. Catchwords such as " We must ha'e a Jevvi;; li state at once," will do us a great deal of harm. We cannot have masses of immigrants streaming into Palestine before the country is ready to receive them. I am fearing such a contingency much more than any opposition which is at present shown to Zionism. We must never be afraid of our opponents. I am frightened sometimes by the zeal of some of our friends.

Many a arning has been given to us to-night; these warnings were grave, wise, and important; they are the more significant as tliey come from the man who has been instrumental more than anybody else in briiunng about the Government's Declaration. He has styled bin; self to-night the pilot, and indeed he was, is, and I hope-will be still for a long time a great pilot to us. But may I be permitted to state that I was listening to some of these warnings with a certain sense of astonishment and humiliation, iiecauseit seemed to me that they were not altogether necessary, at lea.-t as far as Zionists are cm; cerned. Why, it is the very essence of Zionism not to do those three things against which Sir Mark Sylces has warned us. Have not we Zionists, as members of a demociatic movement, fought constantly against these so-called intenational Jewish financial speculators? This type of Jew has always been the implacable enemy of Zionism. From where has the opposition to Zionism been recruited? It has not come from the Grhettos where Jewish traditions are still alive. It has not come trom thos" who are ready to go and settle on the land. The opxsition to Zionism comes chiefly from the so-called cosmopolitan Jew for whose doings and dealings we decline with scorn all responsibility. I think there is no danger. of them catching the first train for Jerusalem. (Laughter.) It is a truism to Zionists that as long' as the land is bonglit by Jews and not worked by-Tews it is not Jewish land. (Apphiuse.) The land becomes Jewish not through the act of buying it but through the act of holding and working it. Among the many colonies which we have in Palesiiiie, tiiere is one, perhaps the least imposing, perhaps the least conspicuous. The name o this colony is Chedera, but it is the most Jewish of all the colonies. And why? The answer to this question is written in the cemetery of Chedei-a, where generation after generation have laid down their lives because they preferred to work on the soil and be stricken Avith fever, rather than desert and leave the work to others. And this is why the colony has become the most Jewish of them all.

For the last ten years of our colonising activity there has been an increasing tendency to replace systematically and sometimes at considerable economic disadvantage Arab labour by Jewish labour, and I would ask the Arabs to remember if we do it, it is not because Ae are against the Arabs, but because we desire to heed the warning of which Sir Mark Sykes spoke to-night, and really make the country Jewish. We want the colonies to be Jewish and to be worked by Jews, and I beg of our friends the Arabs to understand that it is an elementary postulate for those who desire to build up a Jewish country that this should be done by Jewish labour and by Jewish intellect, and not only

by Jewish finance. Jt may all be very hard work, but every process of construction is a difficult one.

Another warning has been given to iis to-night you Jews try and be united. Of course Ave understand the absolute necessity of unity, and for years we have been organising and consolidating Jewry, and I think we ari able to point to notable achievements in that direction. It is difficult, nay impossible, for the Jewish people, dispersed as it is among all the peoples of the world, to show the same aspects of unity as a normal 46 GBEAT BRITAIN, PALESTIXE AND THE JEWS.

European natiou docs; l)ut iua' I remind jou all that very often Jews are reproaelied for being too united the so-called Jewisli solidarity has alwaj's been a beam in the eyes of our enemies.

We are further asked to understand and to respect others. Wlio could urlderstand and respect others better tlian the Jews, who have suffered so much and so long from lack of being understood? Don't we try to understand constantly, and have we not suffered from the fact that we have been misunderstood? How has the world treated the Jews? It has been either philo-Semitic or anti-Semitic, both equally despicable. We don't desire to be particularly loved and patronised, and don't wish to be an object of hatred. We wish to be- taken just as we are, with all our faults and all our qualities, just as we try to take others. Here we are, just Jews and nothing else, a nation among nations; take it or leave it. All these are the very essence of Jewish nationalism and Zionism, and if the improbable should happen that some of us should forget them for a moment, we shall be quickl enough reminded of them by our enemies.

We are living through a great event, an event hich imposes on us a tremendous responsibility. Every act we shall be performing will be watched and scrutinised, and all our mistakes will be magnified and placed m the forefront. Therefore we must try to do our utmost to perform all our tasks jderfectly. We must double and treble our energies. All that we have done hitherto is only the beginning; the difficulties are still m front of us. For that purpose we must unite and combine our forces and leave oui-opponents strictly alone. We are not anxious for their help and we are not frightened by their opposition. If the non-Zionists come to us they will always be welcome; if they stay away we shall not blame themunder one condition, that they do not intei-fere with us. (Applause.)

What we do we sliall do on our responsibility, and I think we are grown up enough to take this responsibility on our shoulders. Non-Zionists or aiiti-Zionists must not be frightened that they may be blamed for our faults; we shall take the blame ourselves, but also the credit. For those who want to come to us we shall build a golden bridge, we shall meet them halfway, we shall ask them to co-operate on those practical problems on which we can co-operate without sacrificing the fundamental principles of the movement. When the day comes for the building and construction of Palestine to begin, one of our most important tasks will be to set our accounts right with our neighbours, the Arabs and the Armenians. We cannot live in harmony with them otherwise. That is the forceful logic of the events. There is enough air and land and water in Palestine for everybody to live on.

We all ho3e and believe that out of this welter of blood and destruction a better world will arise. " If misunderstandings existed in the past between Arabs and Jews

we have not created them; they have been created by those who were the masters of Palestine, by the deadening hand of the Turk, who can only rule over his empire by playing off one part of the population against the other. All that, we hope, will disappear now. Is it not imperative, is it not logical, that we who have suffered so much from physical force should try and reconstitute in Palestine an age of justice and right for everybody? It is strange indeed to hear the fear expressed that the Jew in Palestine may become an aggressor, that the Jew who has been always the victim, the Jew who has always fought the battle of freedom for others, should suddenly become an aggressor jecause he touches Palestinian soil. Has the world forgotten that on this very Palestinian soil the Jewish genius gave birth to the social code which has become the 48 GREAT BluTAIN, PALEST IXE AND THE JEWS.

foundation oe modern civilisation? Peace will, we fervently believe, reign in Palestine, and the Word of Grod will come forth from Zion as of old. In a world without artificial frontiers and Krupp guns, with different nationalities living side by side peacefully, working and labouring for the new civilisation that will emerge out of this war, the Jew will take up again his rightful place.

The Palestine which we expect to build up is not going to be a mere copy of what exists already in the worldit is going to be better. It will not necessarily be a copy of Switzerland or Belgiumit is no use multiplying copies. It is going to be something which will spring out of the Jewish soil, out of the Jewish soul, out of tlie Jewish genius. We shall utilise the accumulated experience of thousands of years of suffering. That is the ideal wc have before us, for which we live and labour, and this ideal excludes aggression, excludes animosity towards those with whom we are bound to work and live. (Prolonged cheers.)

Mr. N. Sokolow said:

For us Zionistsfor I have the honour to speak to you in the name of the Zionist Organisationit has always been one of the mo. st important points in our Zionist pi'ogramme to get publicly recognised and full political security for what we are going to build up in Palestine, in order that we may build on sound foundations. It is true that we did not wait in a state of passivity; we started our work even before we had got these international securities. We worked to the utmost of our powers, and we succeeded in creating in Palestine a nucleus of modern agricultural colonisation, a work in which we were generously helped by that great man whose son w; i: hailed by you with so much enthusiasm and gratitude. (Applause.) Still, the security was missing. Now we hope to receive the essential, the most essential part of political security and self-government under this Declaration, from the greatest Power of the world, which is to decide the fate of Palestinethe Power which has been for centuries the shield and the rock of freedom and justice, and the school for colonisation and for a true and just management of its colonies. In Trelcoming the Declaration we are loyal and faithful to our programme wluch we proclaimed more than twenty years ago at our first Conference in Basle. That principle of political security and self-government is essential for the success and realisation of our work in Palestine, and therefore we Zionists are overcome with joy at this solemn hour, receiving a considerable jart of what we claimed in the shape of the Declaration of His Majesty's Government. (Applause.)

But it is not only the Jewisb people who remained faithful to its traditions in receiving this Declaration; Great Britain in giving it has also proved once more her good faith. This Declaration is a continuation, even more a crowning, of all tbat Britain. lias done for the Jews duiing generations until the present day. (Applause.) "When the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, and from Portugal in 1552, some of them came to Holland, and one of the Jewish Eabbis of Amsterdam came in 1655 to tliis country and stood before Cromwell. He presented Cromwell with the petition for the recidmission of the Jews to this country, using mainly motives of a rather Zionistic character. The readmission of the Jews to this country was the first great act of justice done by England to the Jews. It is rather historic that the Jewish people sbould now give an expression of their deep gratitude to this great nation of Britain. And I think, ladies and gentlemen, that the friendship of the Jewish people is worth having. (Applause.)

You have heard somereferences to the rejoicings that ai'e now going on, but these are but a very small' part 50 QUE AT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

of what is transpiring at the present momenh throughout Jewry in all the countries of. the world. It is a wave not only of enthusiasm, not only of gratitude, but of deep consciousness, because the Jewish people are conscious of their responsibility for the actions they are about to undertake, and in view of the new chapter which is opening in Jewish history, a chapter which has to be written by the Jews all over the world. Not only the Zionists among the Jews, but the whole Jewish people is penetratrd with the deepest feeling of responsibility for what is about to happen. You will have realised already that the Jews in Russia are perhaps the most pronounced friends of England. Why are they the friends of England? Not only because England has granted so great a boon to the Jewish people, but because they know what the right of a nation means, and because they are aware of the high ideals for which England is fighting. They know that England is the main propulsive force of the world's destiny, and that the diffusion of her spirit is the most valuable promise of true peace. They know that there is no free people to-day that has not fed from Great Britain's experience and copied her institutions. England has lieen and still is more than any other nation attached to our 3ible. Now, by this Declaration England has played a roif that is truly biblical. (Applause.)

We appreciate deeply the important remarks oti'ered by our distinguished friend Sir Mark Sykes on the. subject of the relations between the Jews, the Arabs, and the Armenians. My reply to these remarks is: We are Zionistsnot only Zionists for ourselves, but also for the Arabs and the Armenians as well. Zionism means faithfulness to one's own old country, to one's own old home. Zionism means consciousness of a nation. Can we Jews be ignorant of the fact that the Arab nation is a noble nation which has been persecuted? Is not the co-operation between the Arabs and ourselves," the Jews, in the Middle Ages for civilisation and for true culture written in our hearts and deep-rooted in our conscience? Our membership of the Semitic race, our title to a place in the" civilisation of the world and to influence the world and take our share in the development of civilisation, have always been emphasised. If racial kinship really counts, if great associations exist which must serve as a foundation for the future, these associations exist between us and the Arabs. I believe in the logic of these facts. In the

principle of nationality lies the certainty of our justice. There lies also the certainty of our brotherhood with the Arabs and the Armenians. We look most hopefully to the happy days when these three nations will createin fact they have already created in the consciousness of some of their leadersan entente cordiale in the countries of the Near East which have been neglected for so long.

We are not going to take away anybody's property or to prejudice anybody's rights. We are going to iind the land which is available and to settle down wherever there is room, and to live in the best-relations with our neighboursto live and to let the others live. Palestine is not yet a populated, civilised, prosperous country. We are going to make it so by investing our means, our energies, and our intelligence. I was glad to hear that some of your speakers had been to Palestine. They have seen how the country looks. You may have read in The Times that one of its correspondents described the hills of Judaea as roadless, barren hills. But they were not always roadless and barren. In old times these hills were covered with terraces. Now the Jews have again gone there and hate rebuilt some of these terraces. If there is anythiig left of civilisation, of modern agricultiu'e, and of industry in the country it is due 52 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

to the efforts of that handful of Jewish settlers workiuo- under the most difficult conditions.

I would like to say also a few words on the religious question. 1 luid the honour to sjjeak on this cjuestiou to some representatives of the Church of England and to the head of the Eoman Catholic Cliurcb, the Pope. (Applause.) I made- to them a statement, which I can repeat to you here. We Zionists hate the word toleration, and Six Mark Sykes really struck the very point when he condemned the word. We don't like mere toleration by non-Jews, and we don't want them to be tolerated. We know that Palestine is full of sanctuaries and of holy places, holy to the Christian world, holy to Islam, holy to ourselves. Are we blind not to see that there are these places of worship and of veneration? Palestine is the very place where religious conflicts should disappear. There we should meet as brethren, and there we should learn to love each other, not merely to tolerate each other. (Applause.) I declared this to the representatives of the great Churches and I can repeat it here.

M. Sokolow concladed with some remarks in Hebrew.

The Chaikman then put the following resolution, which was carried with acclamation:

"Resolved that this mass meeting, representing all sections of the Jewish community of Manchester, conveys to His Majesty's Government an expression of heart-felt gratitude for their Declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

"It assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action in support of the national aspirations of the Jewish people has evoked among Jews the most profound sentiments of joy. This meeting further pledges its utmost endeavours to give its vdiole-hearted support to the Zionist cause."

In addition to the Jewisli demonstrations in London and Manchester, enthusiastic public meetings, at which similar resolutions were jiassed, were held in most of the Jewish communities in the United Kingdom.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN AMERICA.

Thousands of New York Zionists packed the Carnegie Hall at a commemoration meeting. Thousands more crowded the streets around the building, unable to get in, until long after the beginning of the meeting. The United States, British, and Zionist flags, intertwined, were hung on the walls, and songs in Hebrew were interspersed between the speeches. The leaders of the Zionists in New York and the Old' World dwelt on the significance of the British victorj.

Dr. Schmarya Levin, speaking in Yiddish, declared that Grreat Britain's promise was not an act of politics or diplomacy, but something far deepera stage in the development of history, which, in effect, added another chapter to the Biblea modern chapter, by which Jews of to-day could link something of their own time to the story of the old Jewish kingdom. Dr. Levin spoke as the representative of the International Zionist Organisation.

The Rev. Dr. O. A. Glazebrook, late United States Consul at Jerusalem, declared: It is the duty of every Jew who loves Palestine, who fosters the hope of the restoration of Israel, to use his influence, his material wealth, and his life to see that England and the Allies win this war. We have seen. Dr. Grlazebrook continued, the vision of the

restoration of the Jewish people, and we piay that this vision may not be spoiled by the war, hut may he crowned by the war ending gloriously in a ictory for the Pntente Powers. If Palestine is to he restored to Israel, remember that Palestine and Syria must remain in the hands of the Allies, and our most important lesson just now, more important than the immediate working out of details of the Zionistic state, is that you see and do your whole, complete duty in this war by helping to secure success for Britain, France, Italy, and America.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the meeting, said that what Zionists were rejoicing over was only a scrap of paper, " but that scrap of paper is written in English, it is signed by the British Grovernment, and therefore is sacred and inviolable."

An impressive mass meeting was held at Washington at whicb Christians and Jews united to commemorate the taking of Jerusalem by the British. Notable addresses were delivered by Dr. Harding, Bishop of Washington, Eabbi Abram Simon, and Dr. James Montgomery.

Rabbi Simon said: As one of the household of Israel I am glad to be with you and rejoice with you to-day. The better Christians you are the more I love you, as love was the spirit in which the British entered Jerusalem. Instead of wild hurrahs the British doffed their hats, led by the great Greneral, who walked humbly on foot How different from the way Grermans enter any city! The Welshmen and Australians who led the line cut off no baby's hands, stabbed or ravaged no women, tore up no agricultural lands, left nothing to cause shame, but were willing to allow the sunlight of their great achievement to reflect its brilliancy in the exhibition of God's mercy.

JEWRY'S GBLEBHATION OP NATIONAL CHARTER. th

DEMONSTEATION IN EUSSIA.

The Zionists of Odessa, where more than half the pojmlation is Jewish, organised a great demonstration of all Jewish organisations, including Jewish political refugees from Rumania. Tor half a mile outside the Consulate the street was packed by a

crowd of 150,000 people, and a procession two miles long marched past the Consulate playing British and Jewish National Anthems.

An address signed by the chief of the Zionist movement in Odessa was handed to the British Consul with the request that he would express to his King, Government, and nation the heartfelt thanks of all the Jews of Odessa. The appearance of the British Consul on the balcony was a signal for prolonged and repeated cheers for the British King, the Bi'itish Government, and the British people. The Consul having thanked them in a short speech remained on the balcony for two hours while the procession continued to. march past, repeating their National Anthems and making public and private expressions of their deep thanks and emotion on hearing England's message of goodill. After leaving the British Consulate the procession proceeded to the American Consulate, where similar scenes occurred. On the following day a deputation of Eabbis representing fifty-eight Odessa synagogues, together with some Vitkop parishioners, handed the Consul an address in similar terms to the British people.

DEMONSTRATION IN EGYPT.

A mass meeting, called under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation of 56 GREAT BUITAIM, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

Egypt and organised by the Zeii-e Zion Society of Alexandria, was attended by between 7000 and 8000 people. The Governor of Alexandria was present. Twenty different organisations and institutions were represented by delegates, and the Chief Eabbi of Alexandria, Professor Delia Pergola, also attended.

Extraordinary enthusiasm permeated the atmosphere of the meeting. It was decided to send the following telegram:

"The Right Honourable Lloyd George, Prime Minister, Downing Street, London. Mass meeting of 8000 Jews held to-day in Alexandria manifested indesci'ibable enthusiasm during reading Mr. Balfour's Declaration, and expressed its deepest gratitude to His Majesty's Government. Jack Mosseri, President, Zionist Organisation of Egypt."

PRESS COMMENT.

All Jewish newspapers in Allied and neutral countries, and, to a certain extent, even in the enemy countries, have welcomed in laudatory terms the British Government's Declaration. Even papers that were formerly opposed to the Zionist ideal have now assumed a friendly attitude in view of the inclusion of this ideal among England's war aims. The following is only a brief selection of Press opinions: 17te Zionist Review (Special Supplement), December, 1917:

The Declaration is, first, a formal public recognition by Great Britain (and that is by the Allies) that Israel as a nation lives and persists. It is, second, a recoo`-nition that the problem of the Jewish nation and of

Judaism can be solved only in and tlirougli a Jewish Palestine. It is, tliird, a pledge thar the peace settlement must include such a solution by the establishment of a Jewish national liome in Palestine. The whole Jewish cause, as the Jewish people have lived it through eighteen hundred years and as Zionists have expounded it, is thus embodied in the common law of humanity. From that, whatever were the outcome of the military struggle, nothing henceforth could eliminate it. All this we owe even now to Great

Britain, and in a relatively few "months we shall owe the full redemption of what is now pledged, the realisation in act of what is now written.

The Jeioish Chronicle, November 19, 1917:

With one step the Jewish cause has made a great hound forward. The Declaration of his Majesty's Grovernment as to the future of Palestine in relation to the Jewish people marks a new epoch for our race. For the British Government, in accordit is without doubt to be assumedwith the rest of the Allies, has declared itself in favour of the setting up in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and has undei-taken to use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object. Amidst all that is so dark and dismal and tragic throughout the world there has thus arisen for the Jews a great light. The Declaration of the Government, which concedes the Zionist position in principle, must have effects, far-reaching and vital, upon the future of Jews and Judaism.

The Jewish Express: It is a colossal event in Judaism, a new epoch in the history of the Jewish people. For the nearest parallel we have to go back twenty-five centuries, when Cyrus, the King of Persia, issued a proclamation that Jews might return to Judsea 8 OREAT nnitAtn, PALMSTlnB AND THE JEWS.

to re-establish their national home. Whatever tlie outcome, the fact itselfthat the greatest Power in the world has recognised the claim of the Jewish people for its old homelandmarks a red-letter day in Jewish history. It is a wonderful phenomenon for anyone possessing an historic sense. But the event provokes more than wonder; it will fill every trulv Jewish heart with delight, for it opens a new horizon for the future. The day when the Declaration was signed on behalf of the Government will be remembered by all Jews at all time with gratitude and respect to the great Power that had the sense of justice to support the just claim of a long-wronged people. Mingled with the breathless wonderment is the feeling of inexpressible gratitude.

The Jewish Times:

A thrill of joy will undoubtedly run through the heart of national Jewry on reading the great news. It will be a source of inspiration for every truly Jewish soul. The Declaration may rightly be regarded as a beginning of the end of the Jewish Golutli, the beginning of the solution of the Jewish national problem, the beginning of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Never in history was such an assurance given to the Jewish people.

Thie American Jewish Chronicle, New York: It is the first time in nearly two thousand years of our Diaspora that a Great Power has publicly recognised the Jewish nationality and its right to a homeland. It is by no means pure accident that two mighty Anglo-Saxon nations and (Tovernments, Great Britain and the United States of America, should be the first among the Great Powers to recognise the right of the Jews to a national homeland of their own, and thus publicly to recognise the nationality of the Jews. If the ancient Jewish mind, as it expressed itself in the Bible, ever influenced a great race and helped to shape its destinies and policies, it was the Anglo-Saxon race. Tor tlie past 400 years the greatest production of Jewish genius, the Bible, has been a powerful faptor in the life of the Anglo-Saxon race, and as soon as the Anglo-Saxons freed themselves from medisevalism they began to treat the Jews

living among them with consideration and fairness, even before they were officially emancipated.

The Jewish Advocate, Boston:

Whether one looks at this wonderful event from a religious or from any other point of view, the fact remains the same. The dream of ages, cherished in the hearts of millions of people, has come true. Now all Jews are Zionists.

Hatoren (Hebrew), New York:

"We have long waited for such a Declaivation, and we were certain that it must come. And yet when it did come, and we read it and re-read it, we felt that Divine afflatus of the soul, and a spirit of national rejuvenation has filled us to the brim.

Die Wahrheit, New York:

Every Zionist victory makes clear to the world that only those are entitled to speak in the name of th Jewish people who proclaim our nationality.

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The Jewish Colonisation .:'v in Palestine

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THE JEWISH COLONISATION IN PALESTINE

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THE JEWISH COLONISATION IN PALESTINE

THERE is hardly in history a more tragically moving instance of fidelity of a nation to its ancestral home than that which is offered by the Jewish people carrying with it all through the ages of its long exile its undying love of Zion and its perpetual hope of being restored one day to its ancient land. Whereas all emotions and aspirations in the life of individual man as well as in the life of nations, if not fulfilled within a reasonable space of time, are gradually atrophied and die away, the longing of the Jew for Zion has became stronger with each century until at last it has found expression in what is commonly, but very improperly, called the Jewish colonisation of Palestine.

Colonisation means the departure from the main body of a nation of groups of citizens who leave their homes to settle in foreign countries, either to people them or to open them to economic exploitation. The motives that prompt these groups to emigrate may be of an economic, social, religious or merely political nature; but whatever be the motives, the effect of colonisation is uniformly that of calling into being in regions more or less distant from the mother-country communities of men sprung from a common stock, who, whether r not the colonies remain politically united with the mother-country, are expected to continue to look to that country as the cradle of their culture and to draw from it the ever-renewed inspiration which vi'ill ensure the perpetuation of the particular ethos of the race.

The Jewish re-settlement of Palestine has nothing in common with " colonisation " in the sense just defined; it is rather the exact reverse. It may be said for those who first used the term " colonisation" in this connection that there. was no more proper term available, for the particular migration of which the Jewish re-settlement of Palestine is the expression has no precedent in history, and therefore has no name.

Indeed, the Jewish colonisation in Palestine, unlike the colonisation of other peoples, is not a movement of national expansion, but a movement of national reunion. It is not a centrifugal but a centripetal force, which entails not a dispersion but a concentration of energy, a concentra. tion in fact of all the living forces in Jewry on one singlt and central purpose. That explains vvhy those who during the last thirty years or so have gone ut to Palestine as pioneers, are really in a certain sense an elite from among the Jewish people, and why they have been able in such a comparatively short time to achieve at least as great results and as notable successes in their colonising work as any other, even the most experienced, colonising peoples of ancient times or of to-day have ever achieved, and that notwithstanding the special difficulties in their way.

Whereas the British French, or German settlers" wha have gone abroad could count on the support and protection of one of the most powerful nations of the world, the Jews in Palestine have constantly laboured under the greatest disadvantages, the policy of the Turkish Government with regard to the Jewish colonisation having consistently been one of systematic obstruction. Yet they have persevered in their efforts; and by demonstrating that both the countrypalestineand the peoplethe Jewish settlers are

possessed of the attributes which are essential for the successful reconstitution of a national home they have convinced the world of the practicability of their objects, and have thus contributed, more than any other agent y, to winning recognition, sympathy, and practical support for the Jewish national aspirations. For however beautiful and just a cause may be, and however numerous and sincere the expressions of sympathy which it may receive, still that sympathy will remain purely platonic, and responsible statesmen and Governments will not dare to associate themselves-with the cause so long as they are not convinced of the. possibility of the practical realisation of its objects.

TMJE JEWISH COLONISATION IN PALESTINE j

This test of practicability is the rock on which most new ideas, in politics as in ordinary life, are wrecked. And, for the outside world, Zionism was a new idea to them. Palestine was a waste, and the Jews were constitutionally unfit for the task of developing a country the basis of whose economic life is the cultivation of the land. But the achievements of the Jewish settlers have proved to the world that while it is true that for nearly two thousand years the land, bereft of its children, has been a " land that was desolate," and whereas it is also true that through the effects of its long exile from the land the people in its turn seemed to have lost all or nearly all those attributes of the mind and the body without which success in agriculture is difficult if not impossible, yet the reunion of the people and the land has changed both of them, has restored to the one its pristine fertility and to the other its ancient strength: a miracle that reminds one of the Greek legend of Antaeus, son of the sea god and of the earth, whom Herakles fought and who became weak and powerless when lifted up into the air, but whose invincible strength was given back to him as soon as his feet came into contact with his mother earth. Indeed, one cannot help wondering which of the two miracles is the greater onethe revival of Palestine at the hands of the Jews or the regeneration of the Jew through contact with the soil of Palestine.

Yet only little more than thirty years have passed since the first settlers arrived in the country straight from Russia and Rumania. Most of them were children of the town; none had the least knowledge of agriculture. Moreover, the conditions of the country to which they came were entirely different from anything that they had ever seen before. Ignorant of the language and the customs of the Arab inhabitants, unacquainted with the local laws, unfamiliar with those elementary principles of hygiene the non-observance of which could not remain unpunished in a country where malaria-fever and other epidemic diseases were rampant, these first pioneers of Jewish colonisation in Palestine found themselves confronted with a task the execution of which exceeded by far the possibilities of their very limited financial means and their still less adequate technical training.

Such were the people. The difficulties resulting from their unpreparedness were intensified yet further by the unfavourable conditions prevailing in the country. Public safety was only a word in Palestine at that time. Public hygiene did not receive the least attention from the authorities, and the result was that the most important inland towns, as well as the greatest part of the maritime plain, were infested with malaria-fever and different eye-diseases. There were no physicians, no chemists, no hospitals. There was as yet not a single railway line, and the few roads existing from of old had been

so neglected that they had become absolutely impracticable; in fact, carnages, camels, and horses used to travel through the fields alongside the roads, the latter serving only to indicate the direction.

Cattle-breeding was almost impossible, because ever-recurring epidemics, which nobody attempted to fight, were allowed every two or three years to ravage the herds throughout the country. As for agriculture proper, there was no expert direction as to which plants could most profitably be grown or the methods of growing them; and in the absence of any guidance in this respect the only way open to the Jewish settlers was to imitate the neighbouring Arab population and try to follow, as well as they could, the methods used by them. Unfortunately, however, the fellaheen, with their typical Oriental lack of foresight, which makes them constantly sacrifice the future to the present, have no other principle of agriculture than to try to make their fields yield as much as they can with their very primitive methods, v'ithout troubling to destroy weeds, remove stones, or even maintain the fertility of the soil by replacing in the shape of manures the elements which the crops take away.

It does not need the mind of an expert to understand that centuries of such treatment must have resulted in a heavy strain upon the once proverbial natural fertility of the soil of Palestine. In the mountainous parts of the country the destructive hand of time had been allowed to lay in ruins the walls and terraces that had in the olden days maintained on the surface of the rocks a layer of good soil, thanks to which the western seaward slopes of the mountains of Judah were covered with one never-ending succession of vineyards and of orchards of olives and almonds; and as a result of the decay of these terraces the fertile layer of soil had been washed away by the torrential winter rains, and the bare rock, on which no tree can take root, stared to heaven like a mute yet eloquent witness of the criminal incapacity of the dwellers in the land and their governments. Such was the country.

But, just as from the shock of cold flint and cold steel the spark is born that lies asleep in them, so the reunion of the desolate land and the weary people seems to have called back to active life the old strength, resourcefulness, genius for agriculture, and the love of the earth that had lain dormant in Israel since its divorce from the land near two thousand years ago. With Arab primitive tools and methods the settlers started work. Unskilled as they were, and without technical guidance, they undertook the draining and sanitary rehabilitation of fever-infested parts, in the meanwhile (as was the case in Petach-Tikvah) establishing provisional homes on higher grounds, sometimes situated at some distance from the fields. The soil was drained and put under proper cultivation, Eucalyptus trees were planted by the hundreds of thousands: slowly but surely the struggle against malaria progressed. To-day, with but very few exceptions, the sanitary conditions of the colonies are excellent; but the white tombs under the eucalyptuses of Chederah testify to the price which this peaceful victory of man over the evil powers of nature has cost.

Another difficulty the settlers had to meet was that of the total absence of public safety in the country. They first entrusted native watchmen with the task of protecting their fields and plantations. But they soon found out that these watchmen generally made common cause with the surrounding marauders, organising pilfering on a large scale and thus multiplying the danger of conflicts and bloodshed. Then it was that

a number of Jewish workmen formed the Hashomer, an organisation of exclusively Jewish watchmen for the protection of the Jewish colonies.

It is no exaggeration to say that previous to the British occupation the Hashomer was the most efficient, or rather the only efficient, police-force in the country. The Shonirim, through their skill as watchmen and through their courage, have won the highest prestige amongst the Arab population of Palestine, and it i thanks to their devotion that the inviolability of Jewish property has been secured and that the degree of safety which prevails in and around the Jewish colonies exceeds by far that which is the rule in the other parts of the country. But here again this priceless result has been achieved only at the cost of many a precious young Jewish life, and there is hardly an important colony in Palestine in the defence of which a Jewish watchman has not laid down his life.

Bad sanitary conditions and insecurity were only part of the early troubles which beset the Jewish settlers. They had-come to cultivate again the soil of our fathers, but, as has already been mentioned, they were ignorant of the most elementary rules of agriculture. Still, far from being discouraged, they started by copying the primitive methods of their Arab neighbours; little by little they became acquainted with the nature of the land and with the requirements of the crops; little by little they gathered information about the methtds in use in the advanced agricultural countries of Europe and America, tried these methods, modified them and adapted them to'the needs of their lands. The result of these efforts has been a triumphant refutation of the fallacy that the Jews are incapable of becoming good agriculturists; indeed, there is no profession or occupation in Palestine in which the Jews have proved as successful as in agriculture in its various aspects fruit-growing, cattle-breeding, the wine industry, for example. The yields of their crops are more than double those of the fellaheen; jo too with the yields of theii milch-cows. And Arab landowners have repeatedly used Jewish agricultural workmen for the creation of new plantations and for the more delicate

THE JEWISH COLONISATION IN PALESTINE operation of grafting their fruit-trees. No more convincing demonstration could be required of the skill of the Jewish farmers and planters.

But crops, once gathered in, must be transported to the markets or to the harbours from which they cm be shipped abroad; and in the Palestine of pre-war times there were very few roads, and those were in such a bad state that they were incapable of being used even for a very moderate and light traffic. The Jewish settlers repaired the old roads that connected the various colonies with one another or with the towns, and where roads did not exist they built them at their own expense

While this handful of men were hghting and overcomnir difficulties which would have seemed insuperable to the hardiest and best-trained farmers of any old agricultural country, they were at the same time building up, silently an'I modestly, what has become probably the greatest of alt their achievements: the Hebrew schools. The Hebrew Gymnasium (Higher Grade School) of Tel-. Aviv (Jaffa), with its 700 pupils, has a world-wide reputation; and such episodes as the victorious fight of the settlers against the German Hilfsverem in defence of Hebrew as the language of instruction in the schools are fresh in the memories of all. But the amount of patience, of care,

of devotion, and of sacrifice which the building up and the carrying on of the Hebrew schools have entailed on the part of the settlers, and still more of that admirable body, of men who compose the Union of Hebrew Teachers (the Mcrcas Haniorim), can be gauged only by one who has been a daily witness ot these efforts. It is no little thing, indeed, to carry on schools of all degrees, from the Kindergarten up to the High School, with Hebrew as the language of instruction and yet almost without Hebrew text-books, and nevertheless to manage to give the pupils an education sufficient to secure for them the right to enter a European or American University on the mere presentation of the leaving certificate of the Hebrev Hich School of Tel-Aviv. Have not these teachers too played nobly the responsible part entrusted to them?

The Hebrew High School is situated in ih.- centre of Tel-Aviv, the new Jewish suburb of Jaffa. Broad streets, lined with well-built houses surrounded by little gardens; green trees alongside the streets and flowers in the squares; everywhere a neatness which is probably without parallel in the whole of Palestine and Syria, and is particularly striking at the very gates of Jaffa, the town of dust and evil smells in summer and of mud and evil smells in winter. Tel-Aviv is, at the doors of the Orient, a true model and object-lesson of western cleanliness and hygiene. Its administration, like that of the rural colonies, is carried on by a town council elected by ttie inhabitants, and there are not many towns of its size in Europe that are administered more skilfully or with a more solicitous care for the comfort and the health of the citizens. Such is this small Jewish town, whose white houses and schools, situated near the seashore, are the first Jewish outposts which the traveller perceives as the ship approaches the old rock-built harbour where the prophet Jonah embarked on his journey to Tarshish.

If Tel-Aviv is an interesting demonstration of the administrative skill and the genius for organisation which characterise the Jewish settlers of Palestine, these qualities appear with still greater prominence in the forty-five rural colonies with which they have covered the country.

The colony of Rechoboth, situated near Ramleh, and about thirteen miles south-east of Jaffa, may be taken as an illustration. This colony is ajdministered by a Council Vaad) which is elected annually by a general assembly composed of all the owners of land as well as of all those who, without owning any land at all, are ordinarily resident in the colony and have regularly paid their taxes for the last two years. The right to vote is exercised by both men and women. The Vaad controls all the affairs of the community. It supervises the quality of bread sold by the bakers; it controls the sanitary conditions of the meat supply; it regulates the supply of water for the houses and the gardens; it supervises the health of the Hocks; it acts as intermediary between the colonists-and the tax-farmers in all matters relating to the taxes payable to the Government. The Vaad determines the annual budget of the colony, and a special sub-committee assesses each year the amount of local taxes to be paid by each family, according to its income and its expenses, due regard being paid to the results obtained from the year's crops.

A bachelor pays a larger tax than a family with the same income, and a large family pays a smaller amount of taxes than a small family. The doctor is paid by the colony, so that all persons, rich or poor, have the same right to medical assistance. The chemist,

too, is paid by the colony, and the pharmacy is conducted out of public money, the prices charged for the medicines being the actual cost prices.

The local police force is under the supervision of a special sub-committee of the Vaad.- only Jewish watchmen are employed, and they are paid by the colony. But they are never left alone when actual danger threatens them; and, be it by day or by night, when the village bell, which is set up on the summit of one of the hills, sounds the alarm, there is hardly a more inspiring sight in the world than that of the whole manhood of the colony turning out within five or six minutes from the first signal, fully armed, and hurrying on foot or on horseback to the pla-e of danger. The doctor follows in a cart with all the necessary requisites for first aid, while the chemist and the nurse prepare the village infirmary for the reception of those who may return wounded.

The "Council of Nine" Vaad ha-Tisha), a permanent sub-committee of the Vaad, is entrusted with the revision of and additions to the laws of the colony. An arbitration committee called Vaad ha-Mishpatim settles all civil disputes between the colonists. There are two schools: the lay school, which is managed by a committee of the parents of the schoolchildren in conjunction with the local teachers, who act as representatives of the Union of Palestinian Teachers Mertuz ha-Morim), and the Talmud-Torah, or religious school, which is also managed by the parents of the pupils in conjunction with the teachers; but the sanitary conditions of both schools, and especially the health of the children, are ! o THE JEWISH COLONISATION IN PALESTINE under the immediate supervision of the Vaad acting through the doctor.

The synagogue, with all that relates to its management, is entrusted to a committee of elders; its budget is covered by those who have seats. In the immediate neighbourhood of the synagogue there is the " People's House " Beth ha-Am), where daily, after sunset, when work in the fields and the plantations is finished, the youth of both sexes undergo a course of gymnastic exercises under the guidance of a trained teacher. Here also lectures are given to the parents of the school-children on matters of education and infant hygiene, and other lectures are delivered on Jewish literature and history, natural science, etc.

In the Beth ha-Am also occasional charity f6tes, public receptions, and the general assemblies of the colony are held. On one of the slopes of the synagogue hill and the adjoining plain there takes place every spring, during the Hoi ha-Moed days of Passover, the Hagigah, the annual feast where the Jewish youth and manhood of all Palestine gathers in peaceful competition in pedestrian and horse races and in all sorts of games and physical exercises, while an agricultural and industrial exhibition acquaints both the colonists and the many foreign visitors who attend these festivities with the products of Jewish labour in Palestine.

It would be easy to give many more illustrations of the achievements of the Jewish settlers of Palestine in the fields of agriculture, organisation, and administration. But the few which have been given should suffice to show that the Palestinian Jews possess both the will and the capacity for carrying out the lofty ideal of Zionism: the reconstruction of the national home of the Jewish people in the country of their ancestors.

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THE BRITISH CHARTER OF ZIONISM

LETTER FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The following are the Irrms of the letter to Lord Rothschild in which Me. A. J. Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared the sympathy of the British Government with Zionist aspirations and its favourable attitude towards the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people:

Foii-EigN Office,

November '2, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild, I have much pleasure in L-onveyinij- to you ou behalf of His Majesty's Governuient the following Declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has Leen submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

"His Majesty's G-oternment view with favour the estahlishmeut in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endevonrs to facilitate the achievement of this object, it bein? clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religfious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Tours sincerely,

Signed) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS .1 SURreY OF CRBISTIAN OPINION.

Thirty-three Privy Councillors, including Lord Robert Cecil, Yiscount Grey, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Walter Runciman and Lord Selborne, have publicly expressed their concurrence in the British Grovernment's policy as expressed in the foregoing-letter frojn Mr. Balfour to Lord Roths'hihl.

Viscount Brycb, O. M., said; 'I'he declaration recently made by His Majesty's (iavornuient has given me the greate. st pleasure, for 1 have for years past and especially since a visit to Palestine ill 1914, desired to see that country tenanted once more by the Jewish people, who will there find a national centre and will, we may trusr, restore its former prosperity. The present war offers the best opportuoity that has been seen for centuries for delivering Palestine from the desolating rule of the Turk and settling in it those who are its natural occupants and who have never faltered in their loyalty to its ancient memories.

'i'he Marquis of Crewe, K. G., said; I have long hoped that it would be possible to make such a declaration; and it is now pronounced in terms that should be equally welcome to those Jews who have found happy homes on friendly shores, and to those who have longed for the re-establishment of their race in the ancient land. Within its borders even now triumphs are being won and noble lives laid down for the common cause of which this hope forms part.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M. P., said:

Labour recognises the claims generally of Jews in all countries to the elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship that ought 4 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

to be extended to all the iuhabitants of every natiou's tern'loit.," Further, it trusts that an understandinof may be I'eaclied at the close of the war whereby Palestine ma)' be set free and form a state under an international agreement to which Jewish people may return and work out their own salvation without interference by those of alien race or religion.

0-(;'r two hundred Members of Parliament, representative of all parties and all political opinions, and including the leaders of the Irish Nationalist Party, the Independent Labour Party and the National Party, have expressed similar opinions. A few of their messages follow:

Ma. ior Davil) Davies (Montgomeryshire): It gives me great pleasure to express tlie satisfaction with which I have read the declaration of the British Government in favour of Jewish Zonist aspirations, 'i'lu-rehabilitation of the Jewish nation in its ancient home would be a splendid achievement, and many of us hope that in it will be found a solution of some of the problems which now perplex the whole civilised world.

Me. T. Edmund Habvey (W. Leeds): I welcome the declaration of the Government in favour of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine,

and rejoice at the prospect of the restoration to Israel of its ancient heritfige. It would, I believe, bring new hope and life to Syria and the East, quite apart from its benefit to Jews themselves. The family of nations will be incomplete until the exiled Jewish people have ouce more a home of their own.

Lieut.-Commander J. C. Wedgwood, D. S. O. (New-castle-uuder-Lyme): 1 think the pronouncement one of the nilist impor'tant made during the war, and one that will be a blessing to the whole future of the world, if not "the birth of a nation," it is at least the endowment of that ancient and virile race not only with a country of their own, but also with the self-respect that is given by liberty and true fraternity.

Fourteen Bishops of the Church of England expressed theii- agreement with tlie terms, of the Government's decuiration.

The Bishop or "Chelmsford said-.

From a religious point of view I think the decision of the English Grovernment relating to the future of the Holy Land is not only the most interesting hut the most important incident of the war which h. isyet Ijuen recorded. I sincerely trust that the prl)jeet may hv carried to a successful issue, and that " G-od's Own People" may be led back to the land of their fathers, and that it may become spiritually to them a " land flowing with milk and honey."

The Bishop of Durham said: I welcomed with emotions of far more than interest the recent declaration of the British Government. And as I mark the progress of Sir Edmund Allenby towards the Holy City those emotions are only deepened, and a great hope grows in my heart.

The Bishop of Jjincoln said:

What lover of Holy Scripture and what friend of freedom can help rejoicing at the prospect of the Hebrew people returning to their own land again? God speed them. They have long been divorced from their land; once more they will become a nation of yeomen-farmers, and make the Holy Land fruitful and prosperous and the home of a free and happy people.

The Bishop of Llandaff said: I was extremely glad to hear of the attitude adopted by H. M. Government towards the aspirations of the Jewish people as indicated in Mr. Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild. I have long believed that the best and most practicable solution of the questious that must arise with regard to Palestine after the war would be the establishment of a British Protectorate over that country. I think that then the Jews from all parts of the world who felt so disposed, and were able to do so with a reasonable prospect of success, should be iavited and encouraged to come and settle there. This would probably lead large numbers who were well fitted for agricultural, industrial, or commercial 6 ah'EAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

pursuits to make their home iu Palestiue with exeiy prospect of happiness and prosperity; while mauy others, impelled by traditional sentiment and patriotism, and by devotion to the cause of peace a; nd human progress and development, would find there a home and a sphere of influeuce and opportunity that might, and probably woulw, prove to be a real blessing to the world for centuries to come. It would, I think, take some time to complete such a settlement as I have suggested, and I think that whatever developments there may be iu the futureand no doubt there are many

possibilitiesit would be absolutely necessary for the present at least that there should be some strong protecting Power, if not more than one; but I think that past experinnce shows us that dual or triple control is not always the best way of ensuring happy and peac eful pi-ogress.

The Bishop of Norwich wrote: njb nfv9J nipy btfirir,-'ribs o-riby nin-; "ip-ij (" Blessed be the Lord Grod of Israel, who alone doeth wonders.")

Eight Bishops of the Catholic Church expressed similar views.

The heads of the (jther religious denominations iu the United Kingdom also expressed their agreement with the Government policy.

Amongst distinguished men and women who intimated their approval of the Government's action were Dr. Stanton Coit (of the Ethical Cliurch), Mr. Oscar Browning, Dr. H. Montagu Butler (Master of Trinit-Couege, Cambridge), Mrs. M. G."Fawcett, Mr. George Bernard Shaw, Sir Paul Vinogradoif (of Oxford University), Mr. W. L. Courtney, Mr. (ieorgei Lausbury, Mr. H, W. Massingham and Dr. (. W. Prothei-o.

The declaration of the British Government was received with the most cordial and almost unanimous approval of the IMtiyh Press. Periodicals of all shades of opinion, whether daily, weekly, or monthly, havo vied with one another in hailing the decision of the British Cabinet as an act of far-reaching historic significance. This attitude is neither new nor surprising, for Zionist aspirations have received the consistent and steadfast support of the Press of this country ever since the inception of the Jewish national movement. That the Adews of the Press on this question reflect the opinions of the overwhelming majority of the people can hardly admit of any doubt.

The Daily Chronicle of November 9 said:

Epocli-making is perhaps not too strong a term to apply to Mr. Balfour's letter to Lord Rothscliild. xt any time a formal endorsement of Zionism by a Great Power would command attention if couclied in such terms. But at the present moment, when Gaza and Beersheba have fallen to British armies and the distant thunder of our gun. s is heard in Jerusalem itself, the declaration has a significance that cannot be mistaken. No Power so situated in regard to Palestine has used such language in the whole cour.-e of modern history. One has to go back to Gyrus for a parallel. The adoption of this policy may be defended alike, we believe, on Bi-itish, on Jewish, and on European grounds. From the Jewish point of view sach a restoration opens the door to wonderful pussibili'ties; the hopes that have never been lost during eighteen centuries of the Dispersion will returu within the region of fact and accomplishment. vscarcely less important should be the consequences for Europe. The family of nations would be enriched by the retarn of one of its oldest and most gifted members to a regular and normal place within the circle.

The Daily Newa also devoted a leading article to the same topic.

If General Allenby's victories lead directly to the solution of the problem of the Jew in his relation to the modern world they will have won a great step forward, not 8 GREAT BBITAIN. PALESTINE AXD THE JEWS.

merely foi- a race whicli has suffered almost more thad any otlier from the European oitastroplic, but for the world at large. Whatever may be said against the Zionist movementand there is not much that can reasonably be urged against itit holds the field. There is no other solutioji which promises anything like so well. In deciding

to give the Zionists their chance the British Goveinment have done a bold thing and a wise thing; and as an honestly inspired and intelligent disinterestedness is sounder policy than the most crafty selfishness, they have incidentally struck in this dai-k hour a very heavy blow for the cause for which the free peoples of the world are fighting. Considered merely hs a gesture, what is there in the war to compare in effectiven'ss to this decision?. The promise of the restoration of Palestine will count for more in the judgment of the world than m11 the desolation wrought b- the German legions among the nations whom they have trodden nnder foot.

TI' Mornmcj Pot wrote: It is a sentiment and an ideal for a people to h; ive a country of their own to which they may send at least their poor and oppressed, where the wealth of the rich can be used for the pious support of even a few pioneers, who might under the protection of the British flag in time create a colonythe nucleus of a Jewish state. To have the means and opportunity tu woi-k for such an ideal would in itself seem to the Jewish people as an answer to the ancient promise and the solace to an old-time sorrow. It is one of the strangest, the most remarkable phenomena in the history of mankind that a race broken into fragments, and scattered, whether in bondage or power, through the four quarters of the earth, should keep on for close on two thousand years the dieara of returning to the narrow strip of land, half desert and half sown, from which they started.

Ilii' Manchester Guardian, ever a staunch supporter of the Zionist movement, welcomed the decision in terms of whole-hearted approval; It is at once the I'ulhlment of an aspiration, the signpost 'A a destiny. Never since the days of the Dispersion has tbe extraordinary people scattered over the earth in every country of modern European and of the old Arabic civilisation surrendered the hope of an ultimate return to the historic seat of its national existence. This has formed part of iis ideal life, and is the ever-recurring note of its religious ritual. For fifty years the Jews have been slowly and painfully returning to their ancestral home, and even under the Ottoman yoke and amid the disordei- of that effete and crumbling dominion they have succeeded in establishing the beginnings of a real civilisation. Scattered and few, they have still brought with them schools and industry and scientific knowledge, and here and there have in truth made the waste puices blossom as the rose. The Government have indeed laid down a policy of great and far-reachicg importance, but it is one which can bear its full fruit only by the United efforts of Jews all over the world. Vhat it means is that, assuming our military successes to be continued and the whole of Palestine to be brought securely under our control, then on the conclusion of peace our deliberate policy will be to encourage in every way in our power Jewish immigration, to give full security, and no doubt a large measure of local autonomy, to the Jewish immigrants, with a view to the ultimate establishment of a Jewish state.

The Liverpool Courier vsrote: ' Mr. Balfour's letter stating the attitude of the British Government towards the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine may well be regarded as one of the most historic documents in the 5678 years of Jewish history. Its terms are eminently well considered, and the re-establishment of the Jewish national home is to be accomplished on lines which are reasonable and just. Indeed, we note with satisfaction that the points to which we have already made reference in our consistent advocacy of the claims of Zionism (which has been thrust

to the fore by world-shaking events of the past year or two) have been covered by the terms of the Government declaration.

The Scotsman, iu the course of a long leading-article, said:

No more pregnant event has occurred in the later history of the Jewish nation. It can scarcely be a chance coincidence that this offer of sympathy and help in restoring the Chosen People to the Promised Land is 10 OHFjaT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

contemporaneous with tlie first definite steps towards the freeing of Palestine from the withering and stihing yoke of the Turk. Along with the promise comes a prospect of performance. With the British forces in firm possession of part of Southern Palestine, and marching victorioush towards Jerusalem, prophecy is in course of fulfilling itself.

Tilt Zionist experiment, apart from any bias in its favour that may be felt on j'acial or religious grounds, seems worthy of a fair trial. It is not wholly an experiment made blindly and without any previous knowledge. The root of the Jewish race lias never been wholly removed out of the land which it deems its own heritage by divine appointment; and in the course of the last thirty years between forty and fifty Jewish settlements, some of them numbering three or four thousand persons, have been planted on the soil. As has been said, the hope ot this new return from exile has remained deeply and ineradicably fixed in the heart of the race for more than two thousand years, and remains an integral part of its faith and ritual it is "the age-long dream of Jewry."

7'i? Gla-sffow Herald, writing in a similar vein, said:

What has long been the dream of virtually the whole Jewish raceeven of those whose iuward despair expressed itself outwardly by a cynical dismissal of Zionism as the mirage of over-heated fancy has now taken definite shape on the horizon of practical politics. Though Herzl himself was doomed to die before he had attained even to Pisgah, the persistent idealism which made him reject the British Government's compromise of a settlement in East Africa is likely to be more than justified. The present Jewish colonies furnish the nucleus of a community which, by afforestation and irrigation, could, without depending unduly on help from abroad, and without prejudice to the other races in the country, increase gradually to several millions and in a real sense " possess the land." Though complete national independence is not within the immediate scope of Zionism, the spiritual a. nd political freedom that could be obtained under the aegis of a " League of Nations " would be of immense benefit both to Jewry and to the world at lin-ge.

Tlip In-fi. Tinu'fi expressed its views in the fullowinf passages; In this endorsement of Zionist aspirations at a. moment when Jerusalem can hear the distant thunder of British guns the Government has declared a policy of great and far-reaching importance. It is at last an attainable policy and it is from every point of view a desirable policy. Finally, even those Jews who put the countries in which they have made their homes before their sense of distinctive nationality will welcome the formal ending of the Dispersion. The faith which Jewry has never surrendered in an ultimate return to the historic seat of its national existence is at last about to be redeemed.

.)f the weeklies The Spi-clalur, in the cuurse (J; i long article, said:.

Like Mesopotamia, Palestine can not regain its long-lost, pi'osperity unless it can attract large numbei'S of hardworking and intelligent immigrants. The Jews from Russia have shown that they can thrive in Palestine, with help and guidance from their kinsfolk in the West, and it is therefore desirable that they should be given the fullest oppoi tuuity of developing the latent resources of the country. Further, it would be folly to discourage the Jews in gener'al from assisting the revival of the Holy Land, to which they are bound by aucient ties of religion and sentiment. With the support of so wealthy and influential a body, a, Jewish settlement in Palestine might be expected to grow with sui'prising rapidity, provided always that order were main-f."iined by some form of international control. A large and thriving Jewish settlement in the Holy Land, under the supervision of Great Britain, our Allies, and America, would make for peace and progi'ess in the Near Bast, and would thus accord with British policy. It is not to be supposed that Palestine could ever support more than a small proportion of the Jewish i-aee.

The jsaliun' was ecjually synipathetic:

Mr. Balfour's declaration translates into a binding statement of policy the general wish of British public opinion. It emphatically favours-'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for tlie Jewish people," If 12 GREAT BRITAIN. PALESTINE AND THE JEWS.

we were to analyse tliat sentimeut we should find at its coi-e fclie simple and humane instinct of reparation. Our own record towards tbe Jewish race is, from Cromwell's day downwards, one of relative enlightenment; but it is on the conscience of all Christendom that the burden falls of the secular persecution which this enduring race has suffered. One of our solidest reasons for welcoming the Russian Revolution was that it had freed the whole Alliance from complicity in the sins of one of its chief partners towards the Jews. To end this record by restoring the dispersed and downtrodden race to its own cradle is a war-aim which lifts the struggle in this region above the sordid level of Imperial competition. We do not'suppose that in the return of even large numbers of Jewish settlers to the Holy Land there lies a solution of the Jewish problems of Europe. The mass of the race is likely to remain in Western Russia, in Poland, and in Rumania, and for one colonist who goes to till the soil in Palestine with hard work, a strange environment and an ideabst enthusiasm as his portion, ten will prefer the prospect of fortune in American cities. The gain to the Jews from the recovery of a "' national home" is somewhat subtler than the solution of the genei-al problem of residence and emigration. Palestine will be to the whole dispersed race a centre of culture, a focus and symbol of its national life, a corner of the earth in which a civilisation may be built up on Jewish principles by Jewish hands, free from the overshadowing influence of alien institutions. The agricultural colonies, which have thriven marvellously, thanks to the tenacity and scientific intelligence of their leaders, have already recovered the vernacular use of Hebrew as the language actually spoken in the home. A Jewish society which shapes itself in this atmosphere ought to attain the moral and intellectual leadership of the race, and give to its persistent and original character a freer and more natural expression than it can find in any foreign environment. Palestine may be again the temple, the university, and the ancestral treasure of the Jews, but it can hardly be a home for more than a fractioii of the race.

The New SInlesiiian said:

The British Government's declaration in favour of Zionism is one of the best pieces of statesmanship that we

A StlrVEY OF CHBISTIAN OPINION. H

Can show in these latter days. Early in the war The New Statesman published an article giving the main reasons whv such a step should be taken, and nothing has occurred to change them. To make Palestine once more prosperous and populous, with a population attached to the British Empire, there is only one hopeful way, and that is to effect a Zionist restoration under British auspices. On the other side of the account it is hard to conceive how anybody with the true instinct for nationality and the desire to see small nations emancipated can fail to be warmed by the prospect of emancipating this most ancient of oppressed nationalities.

Tte Statist devoted the greater part of a page to " A Jewish Palestine." In its opinion;

There can be no serious question that a large settlement of Jews in Palestine would be greatly to the benefit, not (luly of that country, but of Western Asia in general. It could not fail to exercise a most beneficial influence. If the Jews constituted the dominant portion of the population, they would introduce with them the civilisation of Europe in almost all matters. They would, therefore, very soon create a trade, for it is to be recollected that Palestine is favourably situated for trade. Harbours could be created; and, as the country is almost at the mouth of the Suez Canal, it would be within easy reach of very rich productive Asiatic countries. Over and above this, Palestine, if the dominant influence was Jewish, would exercise a good influence upon its neighbours. The Jews and the Arabs are akin, and the Arabs are a people of very fine qualities. It is true they have never hitherto been able to maintain for loug a highly-developed civilised government. But if they were aided by the Jews they would probably acquire some of the solid qualities of the Jews, who would be able to make the Arabs less military in spirit and more attached tu economic pursuits. At all events, a Jewish. state keepinjj; up very close relations with the richest Jews in Europe and America, and di'awing its principal element from the middle class, could not fail to exercise a beneficial effect upon the Arabians, and through them upon Mesopotamia.

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Ill Te Obseroei- Mr. Grarvin devoted one section of his usual weekly article to an enthusiastic support of the Government's action:

Nearly two thousand years after the Dispersion, Zioiiisui has become a practical and integral part of all schemes lor a new world-order after the war. There could not have been at this juncture a stroke of statesmanship more just or more wise. No cue need to be told that it will send a mystical thrill throu'h the hearts of the vast majority of Jews throughout the world. It is no idle dream which anticipates that by the close of another generation the new Zion may become a state, incladiog, no doubt, only a pronounced minority of the entire Jewish race, yet i umbering from a million to two million souls, forming a true national people with its own distinctive, rural, and urban civilisation, its own centres of learning and art, making a unique link between the East and West. Jews who dwell elsewhere will none the less be animated by a new interest, sympathy, pride, and will be able to contribute powerful help. So much for that aspect. We need hardly point out that for all the higher purposes of the Allies the importance

of Mr. Balfour's declai-ation is immediate and great. From the United St; ites to Russia new enthusiasm for the general cause of liberty, re. stora-cion, and lasting peace secured by many new international links, moral and practical, will be kindled amongst the extraordinary race whose influence everywhere is out of all proportion to its numbers.

Tke Near Easf, in a. leading article on " The Laud of Promise," said:

Tt was surely the happiest inspiration that pr(j(upted the British Government on the threshold of what it is hoped will prove a successful advance through Syria to remove all possibility of misundefstanding by making known the disinterestedness of its: ittitude lovxiirds the country- The decision accords at once with the religious and political instincfv-. of the British race. That Palestine would ultimately become once more a national home for the Jewish people has always been a settled couviction among those who have pondered over its future in the light of the past; and a long tradition connects England with the efforts directed towards that end. Politically the solution has much to commend it. Palestine is for all true Jews a spiritual centre, and deep down in their being they associate with it, if not their own individual place of residence, at least the home of a suflacient number of Jewish people to make it the focus of Jewish life and Jewish civilisation. Such a Jewish commonwealth can only grow up to fulfil its destiny under the protection of a strong and ordered State, which will guarantee it immunity from outside interference, security of life and jdroperty and the impartial administration of justice. For its own material develojment it must look to itself, and in this connection it will be recalled tbat Jewish agricultural and urban settlements already exist in Palestine, and are a nucleus ready to hand for the new commonwealth. They point to the probable lines on which the deve'opment of The country will take place, expedited or retarded according lo the degr-ree of assistance on which Zionism can count. The valley is full of bones, and, lo! ihey are very dry; Tiiany stages have to be passed through before these dry bones sta, nd upon their feet, au exceeding gi'eat ariijy. Of Palestine it will then be true that " This land that wa desolate is become like the Garden of Eden, and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced and are inhabited." Towards that consummation it would seem that Great Britain in the dispensation of Providence will have played no small part.

Talealine, the organ of the British Palestine Committee, naturally rejoiced at the success towards which its efforts contributed in no small degree:

The decision of the British Government marks a turniug-point in the history of the Jewish people, and will, we believe, be for ever memorable in the history of the British Empire.- For more than eighteen centuries the Jews, as a nation, have been without a home, and the longing to recover their lost national home in Palestine has been the deepest and most abiding of their pnssious. The Jewish people has known, by the persistent teaching of its prophets and sages and by the profoundest instincts of its being, that it could escape from its phantom existence and return to a real life only in and through a restoration to Palestine j 16 GREAT BRITAIN, PALESfiXE AXD THE JE)Vb.

and it has known tliat only thus could it make again, as in the past it had made, its cliaracteristio and specific contribution to the common treasure of civilisation.

A restor-d national homo in Palestine meant to the Jewish people redemption and I'e'javenation for itself and the reopening of a fountain of creative energj- for humanity. For eighteen hundred years the hope of it and the striving for it have been the one political passion by which the Jewish people, as sucli, has lived.

Tlie Chiiirh, Catliolic, and Nonconformist papers uu devoted much space to the Government decision.

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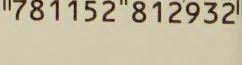

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